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30 June 1978

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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
No. 1556

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ROMANIANS REFUTE CHARGES OF OPPRESSION OF HUNGARIAN MINORITY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 10, May 78 pp 19-23

/Article by Ion Mitran: "The Nationality Problem and the Lessons of History"/

/Text/ The especially important role of the nationality problem during our era, an era marked by profound social, economic and political changes, is naturally finding its expression in, among others, the fact that the destiny of the nation and the nationalities, as well as the relations between them, is one of the constantly present subjects in political discussions and philosophical encounters.

Historically, through the value of its high ideals, the socialist order has the task of validating the progressive functions of the nation and confirming its constructive tendencies. By revolutionizing social, economic, political and spiritual life, the principles and practices of socialism offer to the nation, and implicitly to national and international relations, a new historical perspective, diametrically opposed to capitalist tradition and realities.

The capitalist order and imperialism generate, as demonstrated by a long string of tragic examples from the past and in the present, a complete assortment of suffering and sacrifice that has repercussions in the lives of the people, in cooperative relations between nations and in the climate of international life. At the same time, history notes uncounted cases in which the seizure of certain territories belonging to other nations and their inclusion in other states or the "distribution" and "redistribution" of territories between the great empires, through transactions or by force, involving certain areas normally belonging to small countries, complicated the nationality problem, transforming it into an instrument of domination and separation of people and of national and racial discrimination, from which the policy of apartheid directly descended. Thus, in the acceptance of this state of

conflict and "bone of contention," the nationality problem is a typical product of capitalism.

In revealing the causes and essence of such alienated realities for a human situation and for relations between people, the theory and practice of scientific socialism, without considering that it would be successful at the current stage of fully resolving and bringing perfect harmony to all the problems of social life, have brought the dimensions of real social freedom to the arena of the major concerns of mankind and, through this, the truth of national freedom. In this spirit, as V. I. Lenin observed in 1914, "Marx's socialism places the nationalist problem, as well as the problem of the state, on the same historical basis, not only in the sense of a simple explanation of the past, but also in the sense of a bold vision of the future and a daring practical activity leading to the carrying out of this future."

Characteristic of this new order, whose ideals give a strong breath of fresh air to the contemporary era, are the solution of the nationality problem in the spirit of right and equality and the stimulation of the process of bringing nations closer together in the perspective of certain broad and deep revolutionary transformations, in the course of which each people and each nation, affirming its own creative personality and nature, will make new contributions to the historic progress of mankind.

The Romanian Communist Party's principal approach to the role of the socialist nation and the nation in general, with a profound sense of history, is reflected domestically in the solution of the nationality problem as a component of the process of building a new order and in the continual, multilateral flowering of the Romanian socialist nation. In foreign affairs, the approach is reflected in the consistent promotion of the principles of full equality of rights for all states, respect of national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in domestic affairs and mutual advantage and denunciation of the use of force or the threat of force in international relations.

Such a course of domestic and foreign policy, where there is a close dialectical unity, is carried out by the unanimous adherence of and with the democratic participation of all the people. All that was carried out in Romania in the past and, more significantly, during the years of socialist construction, represents the fruit of the united efforts of all the citizens of the country. The achievements in the economic, scientific and cultural spheres and the civil rights are the results of the efforts of the workers, regardless of their nationality - Romanian, Hungarian, German, Jewish, Serbian, who are directly, consciously and in close unity carrying out the domestic and foreign policies of the party and state.

An entire social practice that is relevant under the most diverse conditions and is found in a state of continual quantitative and qualitative enrichment points out the complex, multi-lateral process of resolving the nationality problem. It is the facts, the only elements capable of proving the veracity of any statements, that are at the basis of the firm convictions of the workers in our country that their place in this world is the one where, for ages, their parents and ancestors were born and lived and where, through their constructive efforts, they are building a superior order in whose framework the strengthening of brotherhood between all the sons of the country is taking place, regardless of their nationality.

It has become an obvious reality of our daily lives that all the citizens of the country have the same rights and duties, the equal opportunities to participate in political activity and in the management of society, and to put to full use their abilities and aptitudes, effectively having the conditions for unhampered affirmation and satisfaction of their material and spiritual requirements. The harmonious distribution of the forces of production throughout the entire country and the accelerated development of those countries that are still behind, including those where the structure of the population contains, in addition to Romanians, workers of other nationalities, are continuously consolidating the material basis of equal rights.

In this socioeconomic and political context, the life of the workers of Hungarian, German, Serbian and other nationalities is taking place within the framework of the general efforts of developing the country in accordance with the established projects and by consulting all the people, including the workers belonging to the coinhabiting nationalities. The citizens of socialist Romania, regardless of their nationality, feel that all the problems of economic and social life in the country are their common problems that they are solving together, seeking constantly better solutions in full freedom.

There are, however, certain circles abroad carrying out actions of ill-will. They write and speak of so-called "oppression" of Hungarians in Romania, of an alleged "forced assimilation" and of "cultural genocide," leading to a misrepresentation of the truth and quarrelling between nations and ethnic groups. Who, in fact, are these people who are carrying out this "propaganda" and what is the content of their "theses," if their perorations can be called theses? They are no others but those fascist, Horthyist elements and the direct descendents of those who for years have terrorized the Hungarian people. They are the ones who, in the period immediately after the 1940 Diktat of Vienna, expelled 300,000 people - Romanians, Jews and even Hungarians



having democratic views, from the temporarily occupied Ardeal territory. Having later fled to avoid the punishment due them, these people are setting themselves up as uninvited "defenders" of the Hungarian people in Romania.

Clearly opposed to the desire for peace, friendship and good understanding between people, activities of this nature appear to be surprisingly orchestrated and have a frequency that reveals, if not a certain "program," then at least a visible intention, playing a role of certain imagined external psychological "pressures." They are, without a doubt, the result of those more or less camouflaged varied mechanisms that are periodically unleashed by reactionary circles in the desire to make public opinion into a type of raw material that is easily used and maneuvered for purposes that are far from the ideas of a healthy and stable climate in international life. Behind these mechanisms there certainly are interests that could be presented only by cynicism and hypocrisy as supporting nothing more and nothing less than "the rights of man."

A service none the less suspect is provided by those publications from abroad, some of which are daily publications having a large circulation and a broad area of distribution, which, by repeating certain obvious fabrications, instead of contributing to the consolidation of a climate of trust and mutual respect between nations, turn up the gas, as they say, on a fire that is smouldering in unhealthy imaginings.

Is it also necessary to add that such tendencies do not innocently or circumstantially appear in this complex and contradictory world where there is no lack of pursuit of new spheres of influence? The world knows the ill-fated results of the efforts to influence public opinion and diplomatic missions through manipulation carried out by the Horthyist regime of regulating Hungarian emigration to the West in order to maintain the "fire" of irredentism, emigrations all the while encouraged by fascist Italy and Hitlerist Germany.

A Hindu poet and philosopher writes that "prejudices blind and deafen." What can be said about those preachers of nationalism at its worst and those inglorious bears of the most outrageous lies? Perhaps they should not be taken into consideration since they are dealing with, as was written once somewhere, "foolishness?" People of good faith cannot, however, forget that this "foolishness" is finding not a little financial support for publications, is reproduced in diverse publications and is being covered by radio stations. All this shows that abroad the circles that find it advantageous to use the methods of political compromise of "divide et impera" are trying to misrepresent reality regarding the resolution of the nationality problem in Romania by using the "scholars" of nationalism and chauvinism and those who have a sad experience "in the subject."

Older and more recent history conclusively show that the policy of national disunion and feuding was and still is promoted by the opponents of social progress in order to weaken mutual trust and friendship between people and persons of different ethnic origins. Such attacks are directed against the ideas of national sovereignty and independence and against the building of the new order.

In the contemporary discussions regarding the nation and nationalities, among the many and controversial theoretical and practical-political problems there is frequent mention, because of its importance, certainly, of the historic role of nationalities or of national minorities, as some authors say. In this context, some hypotheses and theories are advanced regarding a certain status of nationalities throughout the entire world and regarding certain specific forms of relations between these people as "minority populations," who would have need of supranational organizations and some type of protective institutions.

Considering that the dispersal of people of the same nationality into different areas of the world, a so-called diaspora - an act that is, certainly, an objective result of historical developments and the result of diverse positive or negative events, would lead to a blurring of natural ties and the distinct personality of each nationality, solutions are being sought in order to prevent such a "danger," as some people call it, without, however, always specifying the meaning of the word. Other authors are satisfied to find the phenomenon of dispersal and find inefficient and unattainable the idea of creating from without a certain institutionalized system of ties between people of a specific nationality that are spread across a number of countries. Some people implicitly or explicitly see in independent national states, which they blame totally, a block in the path of close relations between people belonging to the same nationality but living in different states.

At the same time, there are positions which, being aware of the objective reality of national states, the natural duties of the citizens of these states and the logical requirements of civic loyalty, refer to the positive role of the nationalities as points of ties between different states and to the promotion of certain relations between members of the diaspora, without bringing damages to the states where the citizens live.

Around such problems, in recent times, there have been more discussions with Marxist and non-Marxist theoreticians and writers being rightly interested in clarifying things not just in theory, in an illuminating manner, but also the problems stemming from here. It must, however, be said again that when one leaves a field of reality and discusses things hypothetically and suggestively, one arrives at best at a diluted metaphysics of the nationality problem. Since the effective resolution of this problem does not

depend upon false pathetic humanitarian sentiments or upon "programs" containing demagogic promises. There is even less room here for provocations of a separatist nature or the obstinate propagation of cosmopolitan theses.

National realities, whether there is talk of the nation as such or about nationalities, always ask for the examination of their specific problems in a given historical context and a concrete approach as a premise in any scientific, objective analysis. The theoretical deciphering and realistic clarification of the perspective of national relations cannot but be accompanied by the combating of the theses and positions that reveal not only a rigid, vulgar understanding, but especially the tendency, disguised by an appearance and a sophisticated theoretization, of disturbing the understanding and companionship of the workers of different nationalities by directly urging them or suggesting to them to break away from their native environment.

The problems of the existence and the future of a coninhabiting nationality in a state, as well as their spread in the geographic area, are certainly real problems and not inventions for theoretical abstractions or for illusionary "worldwide" solutions. In one work on this theme (Louis Perillier, "La patrie planetaire," Editions Robert Laffont, Paris, 1976), although the author mentions the principle according to which no state has the right to interfere in the internal affairs of another state, the author, who makes a plea for a worldwide resolution of certain major problems of mankind, believes that the solution is in the creation of certain worldwide organizations, writing that "among the situations calling for the intervention of international authorities a special place goes to the minority problem," since "the system of nation-states has not permitted the resolution of this problem in a satisfactory manner."

To analyze in a realistic and detailed manner the nationality problem, including the nationalities, according to the new situations of world history, means not to lose sight of the social essence, the political and economic relations and the linguistic, cultural and juridical aspects. These cannot be extrapolated to the social environment in which they occur and which generates them and tends to reproduce them, with the dialectic of this process being naturally subjected to the laws of progress. In this sense, an abstraction cannot be made of the statal framework under the aegis of which one nationality or another is living. The members of a certain national entity, who differ from the majority national entity, naturally constitute a human entity with certain specific characteristics that give it a distinct personality, but this entity cannot be considered isolated from the social and national ensamble of the population. The collectivity of a nationality, defined both by the quantitative, numerical aspect of territorial

concentrations and by the qualitative aspect from the point of view of the diverse constituent elements represented by language, culture and national awareness, is recorded upon the space and concerns for existence and the ideals of the entire nation with which it coinhabitates. From this point, there is the conclusion that the national interest of a nationality refers both to the interest of that ethnic group to preserve and affirm the values that define its individuality and national character, and to the totality of social and national interests of the entire nation.

The exploiting classes and the reactionary circles, regardless of their nationality, have always had and still have today a policy of quarrelling with workers of different nationalities in order to subjugate, suppress and dominate them easier. Certainly, as comrade Nicolae Ceausescu called to attention at the joint plenary session of the councils of workers of Hungarian and German nationalities in March of this year, "things are complex. We should have in mind the entire development of international life, the policy of the former empires and the policy of imperialism in order to understand this situation in its complexity. The policy of dividing small populations, as well as workers of different nationalities, has always been at the basis of domination and oppression."

The working class, by virtue of its social nature and its revolutionary mission of building a society of right and equality, is at the forefront of the historical chance of eliminating national oppression, ethnic egoism and separatism, which have their roots in the orders based upon exploitation and oppression. The process of revolution and socialist construction opened the generous perspective of improving and strengthening friendship between workers of different nationalities, foreshadowing a new historical resolution of the nationality problem.

In the Romanian Communist Party's concept, as is shown in its Program, "the concern for ensuring the full equality in rights for the coinhabitating nationalities, for resolving their specific problems and for cementing the unity and brotherhood of workers, regardless of their nationality, maintains its complete importance during the period of building a multilaterally developed socialist society and gradually moving towards communism."

This principled orientation and the consistently promotion of full equality of rights have stimulated and are stimulating the process of improving and strengthening the brotherhood between Romanians, Hungarians, Germans and all citizens, regardless of their nationality.

The existence in Romania of certain populations of other nationalities, as well as the existence in neighboring countries of

certain populations of Romanian nationality, as a result of historical developments and the many centuries of Romanians being neighbors with the people in this area of Europe, constitute an important factor for the development of friendship and collaboration between these people and states. The solution of the nationality problem in one country or another is an internal question within the competence of each country as an inseparable part of its general policies; in the socialist countries this problem is an inseparable part of building the new order.

One could say to the questions formulated in 1908 by the great Hungarian poet Ady Endre, with direct reference to the social and national oppression of the people in the Habsburg Empire:

Why not from the thousands of broken promises  
There does not rise a giant will?...  
When will our voice be heard,  
And those of the broken and oppressed people?\*

A positive answer was to be given in the socialist revolution and construction in Romania and Hungary, fertile terrain for manifesting certain friendly relations that are qualitatively superior between the Romanian and Hungarian people.

It is known that acts of a disparaging nature and of national division and oppression have always sought their "support" in so-called historical facts which, if they did not exist, were invented without embarrassment, as in the case of the "theory" of the Austrian historian, J. C. Engel, taken from Roesler and which fully satisfied the interests of the imperial Habsburg court.

An American man of science, Ian Matley, wrote in one of his works that "the theory of the abandonment of Dacia and of the later repopulation of this area through a massive migration from south of the Danube is a fantasy theory which, incapable of being confirmed by historical sources, cannot be accepted even as an hypothesis." The American author feels that, if expansionist pretensions would not have been in existence "with the appearance of an historical justification, it is hardly probable that such a theory would have ever been invented" ("Romania: A Profile," Praeger Publishers, New York, 1970).

And still the Roeslerian prefabrication, long enough after it became obsolete, gives birth to zealous proselytes. But, this

\*"Cintecul iacobin maghiar" /The Song of the Hungarian Jacobin7, translation by Eugen Jebeleanu.

is not a simple reproduction of the dusty Roeslerian theory, it is the reduction of the work to a tool of these "neo-discovers" of history. What gives their actions a suspect note common with the activities of the neofascist and neo-Nazi currents is the abusive counterproduction of all types of facts and the remaking of political geography, going from the most ancient historical past to then arrive at today's realities by giving, as they say, a view of "their true colors" and venting their hate towards everything that represents progress, right and equality. Basically, these people proceed according to the political origins of Horthyism, a type of precursor to fascism and those educated in collusion with Hitler and Mussolini.

By closing their eyes to reality and blocking their ears to the echoes of the contemporary era, which are calling for cooperation in the interest of peace and progress, the reactionary circles and publications abroad are agitating with all types of phantoms from the past and are calling upon their prestigious legendary heroes, which any nation is justified to do to cultivate its heroic past, with the condition, however, of respecting the historical truth and of not degrading the noble feelings of patriotism by tendencious nationalist speculation. A similar elementary condition does not, however, enter into the views of certain publications of Hungarian emigres from overseas that are surely under the influence of certain fiery people. Such a publication, appearing in Canada, "Magyar Elet," in informing regarding the work of a certain Fery Lajos, displays Lajos' theses regarding "the settling of the principality of Arpad," which this author claims covered "all the lands between the Carpathians," since "he realized the geographic unity of this territory and this explains the fact that, in broad lines, even during the era of colonialization, the borders were the same as those of Greater Hungary..."

Another publication that pretends to be a cultural publication ("Kronika") and which appears in the same transoceanic area is ready to deny the ethnogenesis and continuity of the Romanian people, which is considers to be nothing more or less than "descendents of emigrants from Asia Minor or the Balkans," and sees "the Hungarian Empire as embracing and protecting the entire Carpathian national community." And so that this view is not vague from a geographic point of view, the same "study," with pretensions of scientific objectivity, goes on to state that "Slovakia, Sub-Carpathian Ukrania, Transylvania, Voivodina and areas to the west are the components of the Tisa Plain."

The Horthyist elements have thus intensified their activities that are to put a question mark upon incontestable facts and moments of history and seed confusion and nontruths regarding the situation of the Hungarian nationality in our country, as can be seen above and elsewhere.

This "remodeling" at the mercy of history and its combination with the campaign of the so-called "rights of man" certainly have their source in the same instigative and explosive ideological arsenal of the reactionary, imperialist circles. One of their "humanitarian" objectives includes, as can be seen in a rich bibliography distributed freely and insistently, the creation of certain states of internal tension and the worsening of relations between neighboring and friendly countries, in other words, disturbing the international climate. Can such instigators be counted upon for a so-called political amnesty of the people?

The distant and more recent past are witnesses to certain chauvinist political concepts and acts and certain atrocities committed by ultranationalist groups, that are basically fascist, acts that are the responsibility, first of all, of imperialist circles interested in placing blocks in the way of social progress and good relations between people.

In diverse historical periods, key personalities of the Romanian people and the coinhabiting nationalities have promoted the progressive ideas regarding the necessity of a unity of action and common struggle for rights and freedom and for a better life, ideas which sooner or later became social realities through the actions themselves and the conviction of the popular masses, regardless of nationality.

This year, when in many of the countries of Europe there are thoughts of the Revolution of 1848, some of which are calling upon history merely as a means of mystifying it, it is well to be reminded of the generous ideas of some of the thinkers and pioneers of the social movement of that era. The words of Avram Iancu resound as a testament to history: "Nature placed us in one country, together we will cultivate it through our efforts and together we will taste the fruits of our efforts." For his part, Simion Branutiu wrote that "the Romanian nation neither wishes to dominate other nations, nor will it suffer being subjected to another nation, but it wishes equal rights for all."

During the same period, after 1848 Szeckler Meeting at Lutita, the revolutionary-democrat Kovari Laszlo, echoing the popular anti-Habsburg fury of the Romanians and Hungarians, felt, and rightly so, that "the (Habsburg) dynasty stirred up one people against the other so that in the confusion created it could establish the absolutist throne. Daring to declare that this court, carrying in blood the hopes of infecting liberty, having the throne placed upon a multitude of sins and designing mainly to keep the people uneducated, poor and in miserable slavery, this court deserves to apply as quickly as possible the decision to be eliminated."

The Romanian people know its own history the ill-fated consequences of the diversionist doctrine and actions of reactionary nationalism and the imperialist circles which have tried hard to justify national oppression and to present as "legitimate" the achievement of certain political and economic objectives by the brutal violation of the rights and interests of other nations or nationalities. In essence, nationalism was and is used for the purpose of stirring up national hate and as an element of dissention designed to block the unity of action of workers on a national and international level against exploitation and for the revolutionary transformation of society.

The populations of Hungarian, German and other nationalities on the territory of our country have fought, during crucial moments and in spite of certain mutual misunderstandings that historical realism cannot avoid, alongside each other and together with the native Romanian population against feudal oppression and for national liberty and social rights. This joint struggle found its expression in the great peasant revolts having a social character, in the revolutionary actions of the working class, led by the communist party, against exploitation and oppression and fascism and the war, for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship and the liberation of Romania from Hitlerist domination, and in the process of socialist revolution and construction.

Drawing lessons from history and providing warnings regarding the complex and acute situation that has been created in the world means, certainly, a call to be vigilant and not to lose sight of the true historical responsibility incumbent upon the progressive, anti-imperialist forces and all people for eliminating the grave dangers facing detente and peace. In our era, it appears more clearly than ever that the sole path that can ensure the liberation of mankind from the serious social anomalies of the past and of national oppression, inequality and poverty is the effective practice of certain new relations of equality, both on the national level and internationally, and the creation of a world in which the people can freely develop, a world of social rights, of national rights and of the prosperity of each people, all of which pleas for the strengthening of the militant solidarity of progressive, anti-imperialist forces.

The great progressive traditions of the past, the realities of the present and the future of the development of a new order constitute the basis of the stable durability of fraternal solidarity of all workers in our country, regardless of their nationality, who are dedicating all their energy and abilities to its growth, with the conviction that in this way they can have a better life and freely create the desired future.



ALBANIA

BERAT WOMEN SHOW LAXNESS IN MILITARY PREPAREDNESS

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 10 May 78 p 2

[Article by Mitro Ceta: "The Emancipated Woman, Elevated Politically and Ideologically--A Great Force for Confronting Every Situation"]

[Excerpts] The 13th conference of the Union of Albanian Women in Berat District was held in the brilliant revolutionary atmosphere which permeates our country as a result of the historic decisions of the Seventh party Congress, the recent plenums of the party Central Committee and the recommendations of Comrade Enver Hoxha given during his visits to Gjirokastra and Sarande.

The delegate from the leadership of the General Council of the Albanian Women's Union, party Central Committee member Vito Kapo took part in the proceedings of the conference.

The reports and discussions had the same theme: We must live, work, and train as if we were under encirclement. To achieve this, optimism and enthusiasm alone are not enough. In the first place there must be concrete mobilization, organization, proletarian discipline, and strongmindedness. Let us look at the matter of military training. There have been some good results in this area. But recently, it was stressed at the conference, shortcomings in the discipline of women during military exercises have come to light. These include, for example, arriving late for exercises and wearing unsuitable uniforms. These negative incidents were the object of discussion in all the organizations. The party teaches us that the political, ideological, and economic education of all the soldier-people has no limits. The many enemies in the form of human beings and techniques must be countered by advanced and comprehensive political and military training.

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ALBANIA

RADIO OPERATORS FOUND GUILTY OF CHANGING FREQUENCIES WITHOUT PERMISSION

Tirana DREJTESIA POPULLORE in Albanian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 77 pp 98-107

[Supreme Court Cases--"From the Practice of the Penal College"]

[Excerpts] A radio operator-sentry, who leaves his post or who engages in prohibited private conversations changing frequencies which had been set for radio communications, commits the crime of violating the rules of guard service.

In a decision dated 4 August 1977, the court of Tirana District (military college) found the accused A.M. and F.T. guilty on the basis of Paragraph I of Article 318 of the Penal Code and sentenced them.

The accused F.T. appealed this decision. The military college of the Supreme Court, in a decision dated 15 September 1977, decided to uphold the above-mentioned decision and gave the following argument:

"...It has been proven that on 24 February 1977, the accused A.M. and F.T., assigned to the job of radio operator, according to an agreement which they had made earlier, left the frequencies established for carrying on conversations related to the job and tuned the radio stations to another frequency and carried on a personal conversation for 10 to 15 minutes. In contradiction to what the accused F. claims, the court of law found the accused guilty and defined the action according to Article 318 of the Penal Code. The accused had been charged with the duties of radio operator-sentries. According to Point 70 of the regulation on communications of the Armed Forces of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, sentry duty in a radio station (receiving-transmitting) is a combat assignment. The radio operator-sentry has the obligation to carefully observe the regulations on radio operation in order to keep intact radio communications with all parties and, under certain conditions, only with the permission of the shift supervisor, can the signal be given to change frequencies. The accused flagrantly violated these provisions of the regulation even though they have been instructed in them and know them well." Decision of the military college dated 15 September 1977.

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### CHARTER 77 DOCUMENT SURVEYS YEAR'S ACTIVITY

Rome LISTY in Czech No 2, Apr 78 pp 48-50

[Charter 77 document signed by Charter spokesmen Jiri Hajek, Ladislav Hejdanek and Marta Kubisova: "Statement of Charter 77 of 6 January 1978"]

[Text] It has been a year since 241 citizens appealed to the constitutional institutions and to the public with the Manifesto of Charter 77. In the manifesto they pointed out the inconsistencies which exist between the principles expressed in the international civil rights agreements to which Czechoslovakia had committed itself and those practiced by the present power structure. They stated that they intended to make a consistent effort to have the principles expressed in the legally undertaken agreements really put into practice in all sectors of life.

Although this citizens' initiative was in full conformity with articles 17 and 29 of Czechoslovak constitution, the highest political and state bodies rejected it; in response to their decision, a campaign which in scope and intensity has had no parallel in recent times was unleashed against Charter 77. Charter 77 was accused of hostile intentions and base motivation; the signatories were insulted and heaped with abuse; workers were forced to reject Charter 77 without having been officially informed of its contents. At the same time, enterprises, social organizations, offices and security organs developed a large campaign of persecution against the signatories as well as many citizens who either sympathized with Charter 77 or were reluctant to come out against it.

What this official reaction did was to confirm, once again and in a graphic manner, the justification of Charter 77 and the truth of its original assertion, namely, that citizens whose views differ from the official views are subject to all kinds of discrimination, that hundreds of thousands of persons are denied the freedom from fear and are prevented from publicly defending themselves against untruthful and insulting slander directed against them, and that many civil liberties are limited or fully suppressed by the circumstance that all institutions and organizations in the country are subordinate to the directives of the political apparatus and some politically powerful individuals.

Despite the repression and intimidations, despite the imprisonment of some signatories and forced immigration of others, despite the fact that officials refused to enter into a discussion with Charter 77 about its demands and the issues it had raised, Charter 77 did not cease to live and function. During 1977 it gradually issued 14 documents, the majority of which dealt with the situation as it existed in various social sectors in regard to implementation of human rights and civil liberties; it issued several announcements and it intervened in various cases of injustice. Within its scope and context many studies, reports, petitions and other texts were written; some groups of signatories turned to appropriate institutions with specific demands and proposals; individual signatories also functioned in the spirit of the Charter 77 mission by pointing out cases of injustice which occurred in their area or by defending themselves against persecution. Documents and letters of Charter 77 as well as other texts inspired by its existence are now being spontaneously disseminated among the local population despite the fact that the security organs direct most of their activity precisely against such unorganized publicity. And persecutions did not prevent other citizens from joining Charter 77; today it has 930 signatories and only one has recalled his signature under the pressure.

Although its existence did not bring about too many concrete cases of redress, after the first year of its existence it is possible to state that Charter 77 has entered the consciousness of our society as a healing factor. It has revived the demand for human rights and strengthened the feeling of human dignity; it has brought out the fact that there are greater values than those offered by the consumerist concept of life; that there exist values for which a person might find it worthwhile to make sacrifices. It reminded people that dignity and freedom are not something for which people can just passively wait but that they must obtain them for themselves by fighting for them, as always in history. Charter 77 is attempting, by its matter-of-fact, legal and systematic approach, to bring into our public life a new pattern of responsible civic attitude. Yet at the same time the signatories of Charter 77 have never assumed the pose of saviors of society, and have never exerted pressure on anyone to accept them: the proof of their truth has been their existence.

The ideas of Charter 77 and, above all, the manner in which the power structure reacted to it, naturally awakened interest in the international public and gained Charter 77 the support of many freethinking people throughout the world. This helped to establish in the international consciousness the idea that in order to really strengthen cooperation between nations it is necessary to strengthen the rights and liberties of individuals. Confronted with this idea, even the Czechoslovak Government had to realize that respect for human rights which it legally undertook to observe may be the only alternative for our country if it does not want to move against the thrust of international development and find itself getting into an ever deeper isolation.

By drawing attention to the question of human rights and to concrete instances of their infringement and by causing a reaction at home and abroad, Charter 77 forced the official places to pay more attention to human rights. This has become evident on the one hand in the intensified publicity devoted to the problem of human rights by the communications media even though to date this publicity has been mostly in defense of the status quo; on the other hand, in some partial attempts to actually rectify the situation (for example, a certain moderation of the discriminatory practices during last year's registration for secondary schools, and a softening of the discriminatory cultural policy, even if instances of this were granted only as reward for public criticism of Charter 77). The power structure may still reject Charter 77 and persecute its supporters but at the same time it must reckon with its impact at home and abroad.

Despite these positive accomplishments, Charter 77 cannot be satisfied with its present position. It is true that the media campaigns against it have ceased but unfortunately nothing has changed in regard to the power structure's attitude to it.

Charter 77 bases itself on the principle, incorporated in the Czechoslovak constitution and in both the international agreements, that every citizen is co-responsible for the way society develops and for the respect it pays to all rights and laws. This awareness of co-responsibility was the basis of its origin. At the time it emphasized that it was neither a political organization nor a springboard for an opposition political activity and defined itself as a free informal group of persons with different views, different religious faiths and different occupations, brought together by their wish to individually and jointly exert themselves on behalf of civil and human rights, in our country and throughout the world. It characterized its mission as a wish to conduct a dialog with the political and state power structure in the area of its concern, primarily by pointing out various concrete examples of infringement of civil rights, proposing solutions, introducing various more general proposals and acting as mediator in conflict situations, should they arise.

Charter 77 adheres to these legal and constructive goals and in accordance with them sends its documents to the Federal Assembly, the Czech National Council, the Czechoslovak Government, the Czech Government and to other state organs. It has never allowed itself to be provoked by the hysterical tone of the campaigns conducted against it and it has never adopted their demagogic methods. Despite that, its communications remain unanswered which means, among other things, that the state organs thereby fail in carrying out their duty, expressed in the constitution, namely, to make sure that citizens' proposals receive "timely and responsible attention." The only components of the power structure which pay permanent attention to Charter 77 are organs of State Security and offices of the public prosecutor, despite the fact that by so doing they place themselves above the constitution. For example, the warning of the Prosecutor General to the spokesmen

of Charter 77, issued on 31 January 1977, and thus also all the decisions of the courts, based on that warning, are without any legal substance. Similarly, the year-long treatment of Charter 77 by the State Security has had no legal justification. Nevertheless, hundreds of interrogations were conducted, thousands of pages of protocol written, dozens of houses searched, many persons detained, followed or harassed in various ways, some signatories even were or are now under permanent police surveillance. (By now, all this must have cost Czechoslovak citizens millions of crowns.)

Contrary to the official assertion that only "political means" have been used against Charter 77 and that it is not subject to criminal prosecution, criminal complaint was lodged against an "unknown perpetrator" for subversion of the republic under Article 98 of Penal Code (No OS-0011/02-77) on 6 January 1977--the day on which State Security illegally prevented transmittance of the Charter 77 Manifesto to state officials; most of the actions of State Security referred to above were carried out under this complaint so that this entire campaign was in fact part of criminal proceedings against Charter 77. The complaint has never been called off and thus provides the security organs with a permanent opportunity to carry out measures against the signatories of Charter 77 and at any time it may become the basis of a criminal indictment. The never-ending interest of State Security in the work of Charter 77 and in private lives of its signatories is combined--often under the direction of State Security personnel--with a broad spectrum of other persecutions; dozens of signatories were dismissed from their jobs and others are being dismissed; many were expelled from the Revolutionary Trade Unions Movement and other social organizations; many had their drivers licenses revoked, either temporarily or permanently, and their telephones disconnected; some were moved out of their apartments, many do not receive either domestic or foreign mail, and similar. At the same time, State Security is attempting to divide the signatories of Charter 77: it is trying to lure some away from Charter 77 by tempting job offers; it is attempting to persuade others to emigrate; against still others it is fabricating unsubstantiated criminal charges; some it is simply just trying to exhaust emotionally.

All these actions which the Charter had dealt with in detail in its various documents are not only illegal and abnormal and damaging to the reputation of our country abroad, they fail to achieve their objective: they confirm, all over again, that the Charter 77 Manifesto is right, they produce resistance in the people, prove to the signatories the justification of their position and strengthen their determination to continue in their work.

After its first year, which has not been very easy, Charter 77 will go on carrying out what it had undertaken to do in its original proclamation: to promote, within the law, respect for human rights inside Czechoslovakia. It will go on pointing out the illegalities and injustices and submit proposals and suggestions for their redress.

Moreover, Charter 77 stands behind its demands formulated as early as April 1977, because it sees the solution of the social problems which concern it in their fulfillment. The demands are as follows:

--To bring the Czechoslovak legal code into conformity with the agreements ratified by Czechoslovakia (including abrogation of all public announcements and directives which were in contravention to them) and thus to improve the legal status of citizens.

--To act upon the 5 April 1977 resolution of the Federal Assembly which obligates the deputies to interest themselves in the observance of laws; to make it possible for all citizens to be able to voice their complaints about infringements of the legal code to the legislative bodies; to respond to these in a responsible manner and thus to eliminate all the pressures which cause citizens to remain silent when they witness an injustice.

--To release from prison all citizens who were or are being prosecuted because they had acted upon their rights guaranteed them by the constitution and further made legal by the ratified international agreements.

--To recognize under Article 41 of International Agreement on Civil and Human Rights the right of the Committee on Human Rights to monitor compliance with international agreements inside the countries which had ratified them, and thus to recognize that the question of human rights is a matter of interest to all peoples.

--To publish both ratified international agreements in a number of copies which is commensurate with the interest of the reading public, and to make possible a public discussion on how their provisions are being complied with in our country.

--To hold responsible those employees of the communications media, security bodies and others who had abused their position in order to disseminate untruths and exert improper pressure on citizens, organizations and judicial, administrative and other organs with the purpose of damaging those who take advantage of their legal rights and involve themselves in resistance against the whims of the power structure. The real motive for such abuses of power is not the professed effort to protect social and state institutions but merely the fear of free discussion and criticism which would rebound against those who break the laws.

--To stop all illegal police and other persecutions of Charter 77 and to deal with its proposals and complaints at appropriate political and state offices and not at interrogation places of State Security, as to date.

Acceptance of these demands would be an important contribution to the healthy development of our society and at the same time the only really dignified answer which the state power can make to the citizens' initiative.

Signed: Professor Dr Jiri Hajek, Spokesman of Charter 77  
Dr Ladislav Hejdanek, Spokesman of Charter 77  
Marta Kubisova, Spokesman of Charter 77

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### ECONOMIC COLLABORATION WITH IRAN

Bratislava PRACA in Slovak 13 June 78 p 3 WA

/Article by (mn): "Possibilities of Colaboration"/

/Text/ Among the most interesting projects of economic cooperation between countries with different political systems belongs the agreement regulating deliveries and transportation of Iranian natural gas to the USSR, Czechoslovakia and western Europe. Its precondition became Soviet-Iranian cooperative effort aiming at the construction of a partly existing pipeline from Iran to the southern territories of the Soviet Union. There is another pipeline to our country, to Austria, the Federal Republic of Germany and France. It will transport the impressive amount of 17 billion cubic meters of natural gas. Of that Czechoslovakia will receive 3.6 billion cubic meters annually. The contract covers 1981-2003, has a value of \$2.5 billion and is the largest one we ever concluded with a non-socialist country.

Already this example indicates how important and promising are mainly economic but also other relations between Czechoslovakia and Iran. It serves also as admonition that useful collaboration may be developed in spite of differences. Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek entered his visit in Iran in this spirit.

It is a visit which continues a rich tradition of mutual relations. We have to remind ourselves that the diplomatic relations are already older than 50 years. However, the time of most intensive relations, culminating in a summit meeting, is identical with the last decade. Although reviewing other years gives us a good idea how important the Czechoslovak-Iranian conversations are. Our premier, Lubomir Strougal, visited Iran in 1976 and the Iranian Shah, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, paid us his official visit last year. His conversations with Gustav Husak have shown that in spite of differences in the system and some differing political approaches, it was possible to find a number of common points. And this was not only in questions of cooperation but also in viewing some important questions of international development.

It is only natural that we speak mainly of economics while speaking of cooperation. But it is not the only point. The scientific world knows how excellent



a name Czechoslovak researchers, linguists and translators had and still have in the field of the history and culture of old Persia, the predecessor of modern Iran. These traditions are favorably reflected also in the current time. In economics--besides the huge contract mentioned--exist further rich exchanges whose value should reach about \$100 million. Mutual commercial and payment relations are regulated by a long term agreement valid till 1980.

Czechoslovak Foreign minister Bohuslav Chnoupek began his visit in a country which is in many respects different, but that does not exclude constructive mutual contacts. Quite to the contrary, Czechoslovak-Iranian relations may serve as an example of the potential of satisfying cooperation. In this way we submit evidence of our interest in more successful realization of peaceful coexistence.

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CPSL DAILY REPORTS CRIME STATISTICS IN SLOVAKIA

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 Jun 78 p 4 AU

[E. Ivancik article: "Prevention--An Effective Instrument Against Criminality"]

[Summary] The battle against crime and other antisocial phenomena remains one of the fundamental tasks of economic organs social organizations and the entire society. Thanks to an increased effort by the pertinent organs, we have succeeded in halting the unfavorable development of criminality.

In 1977 the organs of the Slovak national security detected 3,226 punishable acts and 2,699 violations less than in 1976; a total of 7,128 persons less were sentenced than in 1976. In the sphere of economic crime the most significant reduction was in crimes against socialist property. In 1976, 3,450 were sentenced for this punishable act, and last year the figure was only 3,008. The significant reduction in the number of other severe criminal acts is also encouraging. While, in 1976, 3,377 were sentenced for rioting; 2,954 for illegal use of a vehicle owned by another person; and 1,756 for parasitisms, in 1977 the figures dropped to 2,790; 2,197; and 1,568 respectively.

There has also been a slight reduction in crimes against family and youth: from 977 cases in 1976 to 859 in 1977. An analysis of juvenile delinquency reveals, however, that the frequency of such criminal offenses must be significantly higher. Let us only state that last year only, 560 were sentenced for neglecting paying alimony, 255 for endangering the ethical education of young people and 5 for selling alcoholic drinks to youngsters under 18 years of age. Everybody knows that the actual occurrence of these offenses is much higher. Neither do the 33 sentenced for bribery correspond to the true frequency of this phenomenon.

An alarming signal is the increased number of cases of drunkenness driving. 8,144 were sentenced for this offense in 1977, which is 216 more than the preceding year. Also the number of burglaries has increased, above all of burglaries committed by the Gypsy population. Their criminality continues to be a negative phenomenon; it exceeds threefold their share in the Slovak population.

The share of recidivists in criminality has also increased in spite of the more rigid prosecution. It is apparent that sanctions alone are not successful. It is imperative to more consistently implement the principle of the unity of sanction and education.

CSO: 2400

PROGRESS IN IMPLEMENTING YOUTH POLICY DISCUSSED BY LEADING PERSONALITIES

Budapest IFJUKOMMUNISTA in Hungarian No 5, May 78 pp 2-11

[Unsigned article: "Concerning Youth, Youth Policy and the KISZ"]

The 11th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party devoted special attention, within questions affecting our society as a whole, to the young generation of our homeland. It reaffirmed the chief ideas of the youth policy position taken by the Central Committee in February 1970 and established that the party considers the education of the youth to be a universal social cause in which it attributes a special role to the KISZ. The Congress spoke with recognition of the fact that the KISZ was playing its social and political role and had strengthened and developed its communist character.

The supreme organ of our party also posed tasks. It noted that families, the schools, place of work collectives and leaders, mass organizations and mass movements should form the ideological, political and moral aspect of the youth more deliberately and more demandingly. It called on the KISZ organization to strengthen their political influence primarily among working youth and to educate the youth to independence, initiative and responsibility. Improving party guidance of the KISZ was presented as a task of the primary organization of the party.

More than three years have passed since the last Congress of the party and even less time remains before the next one. Since then the statements have been confronted by everyday practice on innumerable occasions, some of the tasks have become accomplished facts in the wake of the activity of those working for their execution while others require further efforts. Our journal presented questions to several personalities of our public life who have acquired rich experiences in the course of their work concerning realization of the goals of the youth policy

of the party. We asked them how they judged the relationship between the opportunities and responsibilities of our youth, how they viewed the participation of the various organizations of society in the education of the youth and to what extent the activity of the KISZ had changed and developed. The questions were answered by Sandor Jakab, a member of the Central Committee of the MSZMP and a department chief in the Central Committee, by Dr Jozsef Nagy, a member of the Central Committee of the MSZMP and first secretary of the Baranya Megye party committee, by Bertalan Sudi, party secretary of the Petofi Producer Cooperative in Janoshalom, by Borbala Szabo, a member of the Central Committee of the MSZMP and a foreman at the Martfu Tisza shoe factory, and by Gabor Szekely, director of the Szigliget theater in Szolnok. The questions were presented in the name of the editors by Kalman Antal and Endre Erdos.

[Text] Question: Eight years have passed since the youth policy position taken by the Central Committee of our party. Since then a great number of measures (the Youth Law, the system of youth parliaments, lowering the age for party membership, etc.) have dealt with questions affecting the youth. Is it your opinion that the youth are making adequate use of the old and new opportunities and are the rights and responsibilities of youth in harmony in everyday practice?

Sandor Jakab: The February 1970 Youth Policy Position of the Central Committee of the MSZMP was a theoretical and political resolution which dealt on Marxist-Leninist foundations with the social position and role of the youth, the relationship of youth and socialist society, and defined the responsibility of society in educating the youth and the responsibility of the youth toward itself and toward society. As a result the position is timely today and it will continue to be a guide for our political practice in the future. I might remind you that the Central Committee also adopted a resolution containing practical measures at the same time the position was taken. We have essentially carried out these measures in the eight years which have elapsed. As a result, the living and working conditions of the youth have improved and conditions for study, further training, culture, amusement and sport have improved.

I consider the positive change in opinions about youth to be one of the most significant achievements of this time, almost a decade. This and the accompanying high degree of social concern have brought young people closer to our common cause and increased their social and political activity and participation in public life. They have proven themselves in work, in study, and in defense of the homeland and their socialist awareness and morality have strengthened. Our experiences show that young people are fitting in harmoniously in the economic, political and intellectual life of society and the older generation appreciates this.

The chief source of the achievements is the trust and political sensitivity of the party toward the youth. We would like to strengthen this further in the future. We consider this important because the most valuable and most precious resource of our society is man. Man who, with the level of his general and professional culture and with his communal behavior, is at one and the same time, to use the words of Marx, "the author and actor" in the historical process leading toward our future.

It is worth noting that the great majority of the members of the party grew up under the conditions of socialism. For the past few years 60 percent of the members admitted have been under 30 years of age while the percentage under 40 years of age exceeds 90 percent. In its everyday political practice the party constantly watches the life, development, work and behavior of the youth. It takes care to see that the state and economic organs and their leaders and the social and mass organizations also do this.

Finally, I might answer the question by saying that the rights and responsibilities of youth are in harmony in our homeland. This is proven before all else by the ever fuller expression of socialist democracy.

In this regard the 1970 position held out to the youth the expectations of a developed socialism. This was formulated in the requirement--which is also an opportunity--that more and more people should participate in the management of public affairs.

The exercise of democracy is not a simple task. We are aware of incorrect opinions and of harmful practices based on them so it is natural that young people are not prepared for this in every respect. The essential thing here is that the trust of the party was justified. Young people are making good use of the rights guaranteed to them and the great majority carry out their responsibilities in a disciplined fashion. Of course there are those among them--as there are among older people--who leave something to be desired in regard to disciplined work, do not study according to their best abilities, who know their rights better than they know their responsibilities, but they are few in number and this behavior can be changed by educational work.

Dr Jozsef Nagy: There have been great changes in the area of youth policy in the past decade. It may seem hardly credible today but it is a fact that at the end of the 1960s how to judge the youth was at the center of the most heated debates. Today, disregarding a few extreme examples, public opinion does not judge young people according to how similar their customs, dress and taste are to that of the preceding generation but rather according to how they work, study and participate in the public life of their place of work or residence, how they live.

Of course the question is very complex but I wanted to use this example to make you feel one of the most striking changes which has taken place

since 1970. This also indicates that we have solved a good part of our problems of that time. Of course, together with the development, some of the problems appear today also in a different way and with a different content. For example, following the appearance of the youth policy position one of our tasks was to increase the ratio of young people in various areas and forums. This has become natural since and no one needs to be convinced but in the meantime new, qualitative requirements have come into the foreground. So it is not a matter of indifference whether young people are simply members or real participants in the various organs. I am convinced that young people will make use of their opportunities to the extent that they are made adequate to them and to the extent that the adult society requires this.

We might give an example of this social requirement even from the youngest circle. When we held our first Pioneer Parliament many of the adults smiled: "Will we hold a nursery parliament next" (!?). And what happened? The Little Drummers and Pioneers proved that if adult society could formulate what it expected from them then they were ready to do their part and even capable of giving a lesson to the adults with their clever and understanding proposals and questions.

And now we are really in the midst of the problem of rights and responsibilities.

In the early 1970s our young people emphasized primarily rights. We have found that the balance has been "restored" since then. The question of what their responsibilities are and what their rights are in harmony with this has come into the foreground in the thought world and practical activity of young people. I believe that I would not be in error if I noted an interdependency here with the April 1974 resolution of the Central Committee of the KISZ.

The megye party committee recently dealt with fulfillment of the goals posed by the 11th Congress. It was established in this connection that the youth in our megye are making appropriate use of their opportunities. The KISZ members are most active among them and this is natural. This is exemplified by the labor competition movement announced in honor of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution which could become a success with the initiative and creative participation of the youth. Similarly, the youth parliaments also reflected, among other things, a desire for more and better, a demand that responsibilities be fulfilled at a higher level.

But in everyday practice the picture is not so clear. We have also met with phenomena which curtail the rights of the youth or, which is no less harmful, present them with only formal requirements. For example, we cannot agree with something we found in one of our factories where a pay proposal pertaining to young people working there had been signed by six trade union stewards but they "forgot" to ask the opinion of the KISZ secretary.

At another enterprise they held separate youth parliaments for office workers and for young factory workers. There have also been cases where young people did not receive answers to their questions even several months after the youth parliament.

It also concerns me that we have made hardly any progress in the KISZ-Radar movement in which I see great possibilities. But it is clear to all of us that it is a common interest that more and more should have a say in the wake of which we can eliminate factors which hold back better work. Perhaps some young people acquiesce too easily to the idea that "nothing can be changed" recoiling from the first failure but perhaps we have not entrusted them sufficiently with bravely breaking down the obstacles to development and discovering new roads.

Although these are not general phenomenon we must act against them strictly because their common root is the weakness of socialist democracy which can be found here and there and their origin can be nothing more than apathy, the view "it does not concern me, it does not hurt me" or the false wisdom that "one should not leave a well-traveled path for an untraveled one."

Bertalan Sudi: The youth policy position of the Central Committee of the MSZMP adopted in 1970 was of great significance for Hungarian youth as a whole even at the moment of its birth. The youth law which followed the position and the directives in execution of it and the introduction of the system of youth parliaments and an entire series of other concrete measures affected the young people personally and had a favorable effect on their living and working conditions. The youth of our cooperative are not an exception to this. In the wake of the party resolution and youth policy and the youth law, we took serious steps to survey the situation of the youth and improve it.

Judging the possibilities of young people and surveying the ratio of rights and responsibilities are old themes and, in my opinion, have always been favorite debate themes for the older generation. Of course, this question cannot be examined in generalities and even less can it be evaluated in relationship to the past--the positive and negative phenomenon must always be judged taking into consideration the concrete conditions. Young people are often charged--I also hear enough of this--with paying attention only to their rights, emphasizing these with partiality and neglecting their obligations and not paying attention to them. In reality it is not this way. This or that youth may be impatient but this is not general; the great majority of the young people--of course I am not measuring this in an apothecary's balance--consider their rights and obligations in a more or less synchronous fashion. It is also worthwhile to pay attention to the impatient, to the so-called "grumblers" they should not be dismissed with a wave of the hand; it is my experience that very frequently there is something wrong in work relationships or a stuffiness in the microclimate of the given community lurking in the background. It is usually difficult to change this, and it is much easier to put labels on certain people.

It also follows from the lack of life experience of young people that frequently they cannot find an appropriate forum in which to express even their most just demands and observations so that the real problems often remain hidden; matters of second or third rank importance come into the foreground.

It is also fundamentally characteristic of young people that they react to everything which happens about them sensitively and intensively (and the strength of this intensity may be confusing to those who do not live "near to the youth")--to the justice of the policy just as to the contradictions which the adults sometimes produce, that is, to the contradiction between words and practice. Unfortunately, absurdities come to the fore in life and the young people usually notice these and talk about them. And the adults, out of laziness, instead of giving normal answers and taking measures turn the charge around and accuse young people of over-emphasizing their rights. Citing a lack of experience is a good foundation for this and mentioning the responsibility of the youth does not require concrete proof. These are rigid commonplaces and prejudices. If there really are among the youth those who take advantage of their situation, if, for example, KISZ leaders sin against the community, then the general charges (which in their generality are unjust and unprovable) receive a real and concrete foundation and can reflect for years on the work of the movement and strengthen judgmental prejudices. It has happened in our cooperative also that elected KISZ leaders misused their trust and misappropriated the property of the community. We unmasked them and punished them but beyond a certain point we had to hold back the leaders and the adult environment from excessive retribution. Simply because young people were involved and they were being judged more harshly than adults committing similar offenses.

It is difficult to generalize individual phenomenon, whether they be positive or negative. The most important point of view in judging young people is their fulfillment of basic responsibilities and in addition, and thereafter, the realization of rights. It is my conviction that the majority of young people see well the ratio of these and employ them correctly in practice.

One of the most important causes of impatience among youth for us was the tension appearing in wage payment. The new wage schedules introduced recently put the lower limits much higher and so we were able to reduce much of the earlier tension. We had a good many young skilled workers whose hourly wages increased from 13 to 14 forints to 19 to 20 forints. In the course of the most recent wage adjustment there was a decrease in the difference which existed earlier between those who were newly entering and those who had worked here formerly, to the advantage of the former.

Borbala Szabo: Many magnificent measures have been taken, both nationally and locally. It is a good thing that in general the young people are taking advantage of the possibilities thus given. At the same time, they



have demands which are just but which cannot be fulfilled. We also recognize the justice of them, the leaders of our community, which recently became a large town, recognize them but we cannot help. For example, it is indisputable that young people need more opportunities for amusement. Sooner or later they will have them. Of course, it may be that by that time some of those who are young people today will no longer be young.

We are not happy to say no to just requests however much the economic possibilities may justify this. All the more so because the young people play their part most admirably in the fulfillment of our plan tasks. In this sense I see a harmony between their rights and their fulfillment of their responsibilities. But I see a problem in regard to the responsibility to exploit the possibilities. I am thinking of culture and study. It may be that the young people are not taking advantage of their possibilities in the work of various forums. But it is at this age that they should study factory democracy. We have tasks in this area, but the KISZ organizations have such tasks especially. We must provide our young people with arguments, with a professional and political background.

I do not say it as a spoilsport but I do say that young people sometimes know their rights a little bit "too well." I mean that they talk about them more than they do about their responsibilities. I should emphasize that this is how they talk, they do not neglect their tasks. But it causes a certain antipathy and the balance is disturbed--if only in words.

I consider it a great achievement that more and more young people are receiving leadership tasks. Here we must often fight with the middle age people. They sometimes reproach us for thinking too much about the future when naming leaders. At such times we are happy to play the "trump" represented by the knowledge and accomplishments of young experts. But I should note that there is another side to the coin also. It sometimes happens that a young person continuing his studies expects a promotion immediately after his first successful test or at least after graduation. And this is the least of the problems. The larger problem is that many equate the concept of promotion with exemption from productive work, with a desk. The KISZ should do more to fight against this view.

Gabor Szekely: I am 33 years old and so do not have so much experience of life and you are asking my opinion about an age group to which I myself belong. There are theaters in Hungary--and I work in one of them--which have been called different things at different times. At one time they were simply "provincial" and to a certain extent this was an insulting distinction and especially represented a disparagement since a theater was involved. Later this word was used in a better sense, rather as a provocation to those less active companies among the Pest theaters. In my opinion this distinction was not fully justified because our theater life went through significant changes in Pest and in the provinces alike; and the most positive element of this change for us was that the great gap which existed earlier between capital and provincial theaters ended. It is true

that we cannot yet speak of a spiritually uniform provincial theater nor of a uniform Budapest theater either. Several provincial theaters work at the same intellectual level as the best capital theaters--although under much worse conditions. We are working to make Hungarian theater uniform. The things started by a few provincial theaters have had the effect of novelty and have enlivened and agitated theater life. These theaters are also called "young" theaters. This youth means many things--the average age which can be expressed statistically and also the fact that in these places in the last five or six years the theaters have been guided by an artistic leadership much younger than the average. In accordance with their age this leadership can formulate its thoughts with different internal requirements and in different forms. Of course, there are also outstanding older artists in these theaters for good "theater making" is not tied to age. The program plans are not determined by the ratio of works nor by the makeup of the companies alone nor by the circumstances.

In our profession--and thus for the young actors also--the most important tools are word and gesture. Our young artists express on the stage, daily and with each production, their political position. We seek plays to answer the mass of questions affecting us, confusing us and causing us trouble, plays with the aid of which we can think through these things and express them. Our young actors are constantly politically active, they fill their entire lives with polemics; they would like to express to others their opinion about the world.

There are no institutions of higher learning in Szolnok--and this is a great disadvantage, but there are very good secondary schools and we have very good contacts with them. I must also talk about the skilled worker apprentices; we provide special season tickets for them. The reception of the so-called youth program is very good and our actors can say that at such time a stronger than usual intellectual and emotional contact develops between the stage and the audience. In recent years we have also held illustrated literary hours in the schools and very good contacts develop at such times between the actors and the children. Naturally we also exchange our ideas about other matters of mutual interest and not only about literature and theater.

We have also found at such meetings that young people are not apolitical; they want to participate actively in the development of their life.

It is our belief that if one of our productions is not a success then the reason for this is not the lack of education of the young public or perhaps their "cynicism", rather it is because the production was not good.

Question: The position concerning youth policy questions established in 1970 that in the course of KISZ activity they dealt with many questions which they should not be dealing with and at the same time there was insufficient strength for the basic tasks, primarily political education work. How do you see this today?

Sandor Jakab; Prior to 1970 the KISZ dealt with many tasks which did not really belong to the sphere of tasks of a political youth organization. In forming our opinion, however, we should take into consideration two essential circumstances: It is true that that KISZ is the youth organization of the party, a mass organization which also represents Hungarian youth as a whole with its activity; I should also note that the KISZ was forced to do this because those organs and organizations which might have been called upon to carry out these tasks did not deal sufficiently with questions falling in their spheres.

After the 1970 resolution the education of youth and dealing with them became increasingly a social cause. Our social development required that the KISZ turn greater attention to strengthening the communist, political character of the organization, to improving its discipline and to educating its members and activists.

The 8th Congress of the KISZ and especially the April 1974 resolution of the Central Committee of the KISZ carried out this change of pace. In my opinion the KISZ today is fulfilling its social, political function: As the uniform political mass organization of Hungarian youth it gathers together the best of the youth and with its activity forums it embraces and influences politically Hungarian youth as a whole. As the youth organization of the party it helps the policy of the party to find understanding and acceptance among the youth. It well represents the youth before state and social organs and represents and defends the just interests of youth.

The work of the KISZ must be developed further on the basis of the results achieved. It should participate better than heretofore in the social distribution of labor and should exploit the possibilities hiding in this.

Let me say frankly that I do not believe that the so-called cooperation contracts promote matters very much. It is my feeling that these are prepared as a fig leaf in those places where cooperation is not good. Where matters are proceeding well they know what each has to do without any "papers." In addition, what is involved here are tasks requiring the joint efforts of many organizations and not something which can be taken care of bilaterally. For this reason coordination is the task of the party organs as is in any case prescribed by the resolution.

It is important that organs responsible for the education of the youth strengthen and improve their cooperation from the preparing of decisions to their execution. It seems that cooperation has become more effective thus far primarily in the area of labor competition, mass sport and interest protection.

I would like to emphasize that the KISZ, because of its character as a mass organization, must turn its attention, today and in the future, to many tasks--political, economic, cultural, etc.--and must realize its

responsibility in many sorts of matters. If it wants to satisfy this requirement then in addition to activizing its organizations and improving their work it must make greater demands in the future of state, social and economic organs to do more for the solution of material, social, cultural, etc. questions affecting the youth. Such things as living and working conditions, starting a career, finding work, starting a family, and conditions for sport, culture and amusement. In these questions it must speak more frequently in the name of the youths, requesting action, urging execution and the participation of central and regional organs alike. It appears that a good foundation for this has been provided by the resolution concerning defense of interests adopted by the Central Committee of the KISZ at the end of last year, the confirmation of this resolution by state regulations is now almost complete.

Dr Jozsef Nagy: The fundamental message of the youth policy position was that the entire society is responsible for the education of the youth, 'How is the social distribution of labor deriving from this joint responsibility realized in our megye? It means that with the coordination of the party organs, as is done nationally also, the state and social organs, enterprises, cooperatives and institutions carry out their own youth policy tasks. Coordination is provided primarily by the youth policy work committee of the megye party committee. A special youth committee works with the megye council, with the SZMT [megye trade union council], the megye committee of the HNF [Patriotic Peoples Front], and the MESZOV [Agricultural Production Cooperative]. The various organs have prepared plans for carrying out youth policy measures which have been reviewed annually thus far but which will be regularly reviewed every two years hereafter.

All this has had a favorable effect on the youth federation. The development of a distribution of labor has made it possible for the KISZ--especially in recent years--to direct its attention primarily to political education work, to the conditions for this and to improving organizational life.

Of course, one might pose the question in an absurd way by saying that the KISZ can now do only some sort of "abstract, laboratory" education work. This is not what is involved. What is involved is that it can turn its creative, mobilizing strength and tools to socialist education, to making actions and movements more substantive, to raising requirements and to strengthening mass influence on the basis of better external conditions.

Naturally, as a result of the social distribution of labor, the KISZ must maintain ever broader and more complex contacts with all those organs which play a part in the education of the youth. On the one hand the expanded social distribution of labor has taken from the shoulders of the KISZ burdens which the youth federation should not have borne and on the other hand it requires a new and higher level and more complex system of contacts which insures almost daily an action unity, placing no small task on the youth federation.

There is a peculiar contradiction here, The KISZ activists in general agree that the distribution of labor must be improved further. And yet in regard to some concrete measures, for example when the announcing of the creative youth competition was made the task of state organs, a few KISZ members say with great nostalgia, "so, they have nationalized this successful action of ours also!" This indicates that the KISZ must break with old methods more courageously and must seek the new political tasks of the new situation.

Although cooperation in education of the youth is expanding, further steps must be taken in a few areas. We have found, for example, that after the first impetus the youth club movement has stagnated and in some places the clubs have developed into DISCO clubs. A good number of the more than 200 youth clubs which were operating in our megye two or three years ago have ceased to exist.

Or take the Movement for a Tempered Youth. This also expanded the social distribution of labor but the organs responsible for the coordination of the movement, the organizing committees, do not work adequately in general.

I also consider it a deficiency that youth outside of the KISZ are not adequately prepared for the youth parliaments. It is gratifying, however, that the councils, trade unions and leaders of factories and institutions recognize this and have concrete ideas for a better preparation for the 1978 youth parliaments.

Bertalan Sudi: Every year the KISZ leadership reports to the party leadership concerning their experiences in movement work. We have not found any idling in KISZ work in recent years. Formerly, at least for us, the KISZ did not have a concrete program which could be reported on. In some reports, even five or six years ago, it was most disturbing that the person giving the report did not speak so much about work done as rather about why certain things could not be done. Today the KISZ has a substantive program which looks forward politically and about which reports can be given.

Borbala Szabo: If we make comparisons with the KISZ of my day we can see that the profile of KISZ work has been clarified. I remember that we were carrying out KISZ housing construction actions. We even have three KISZ houses. We were proud when we built them. No one asked whether we might be doing real KISZ work--education, agitation, etc.--while we were running around trying to find construction materials or even craftsmen.

It is my experience that there is now much less work of the "if we do not do it no one will do it" type. Every organization is trying to find tasks in its own area.

It is a very big thing that the view of the economic leaders has finally changed also. We must work according to the fashion if we want to live.

Today this means that we must make uppers which require a great deal of work. There is a shortage of manpower and we in light industry can hire people at the age of 14 years, virtually children. We have some young workers who are only 15 years old and have already worked at the Tisza Shoe Factory for 6 months. So the economic leaders, if they want to achieve results in the economic area, must not only guide, not only be bosses, but must also sometimes play the role of mother or father. So our leaders must deal with educational matters and they are doing so. Of course, not everyone. But those economic leaders who do not yet feel this to be their responsibility will be forced to recognize that they should deal with the young people in the way prescribed by the resolution of the Central Committee. So they must not simply pay attention to economic questions.

Naturally, their educational work can be truly effective only if it is coordinated with that of the KISZ. A good example of this is place of work physical education which we started with great enthusiasm but then the economic leaders would not supervise it strictly and it became a cigarette break. We then asked the KISZ members to give a good example and this was not without results.

Gabor Szekely: Organized and systematic execution of movement work is infinitely difficult for us because there is a great fluctuation among young artists. A company rarely remains together for a long time. There is a special contract system in the theaters: The actors sign contracts for one to three years so in principle the personnel could change every year. Those working for us have left their families and in general their friends a hundred kilometers away. There is no wife or child who could always follow the movement of a young actor. Of course, the fluctuation also has a favorable effect. The companies are organized in such a way that the artists seek out one another with the feeling that the company is expressing their own ideas and they seek partners who will encourage them to develop their own talents. They become a team independent of who has the chief role and who plays the minor role in this or that production. In a word, they try to create an opportunity for themselves to multiply their strength through joint work and common thinking. Thus, the "official" work and communal life merge almost completely. Thus we can regard self education and political education as a continual process linked to the professional activity in small communities.

Question: The 11th Congress of the MSZMP confirmed the principles and practice followed in youth policy questions. In this connection the report of the Central Committee, the speeches and the resolution adopted expressed the agreement of our party with all those aspirations and measures which the Youth Federation had decided upon in the interest of improving its work--not quite one year earlier, in April 1974. Now, four years after the "April Resolution" of the KISZ, what are your experiences: Did they make our Federation more suitable for carrying out the tasks received from the party and in what way has the activity of the Youth Federation changed and developed?

Sandor Jakab: In essence I have already spoken about this in connection with the previous question. I now reaffirm that the April 1974 resolution of the KISZ Central Committee effectively serves to strengthen the communist, political character of the youth organization and the development of its organizational life. Experiences in connection with execution of the resolution are favorable and this was encouraged by the 11th Congress of the party and confirmed by the 9th Congress of the KISZ.

A few problems have arisen in this connection to which we should pay attention. One refers to the party organization. We should take care to see that the leaders and activists of the party organization are more fundamentally acquainted with the essence of the aspirations of the KISZ and understand the goal, essence and necessity of the organizational changes connected with this because we must adjust party guidance of the KISZ accordingly. It still happens that party leaders criticize the work of the KISZ or certain elements of it as if they were outsiders.

The facts show that the initiatives of the KISZ are worthy of party support and they should receive support from every party organ. We can make this more effective by seeing that more young party members then heretofore receive party assignments for active participation in KISZ work.

In the future the leaders of the youth federation should direct their attention even more to increasing mass influence. Within this the effect of the KISZ on working youth merits special political emphasis. An attractive and colorful program is needed for this. So that it will be worthwhile to be a member of the KISZ not only for its general goals but also for the concrete programs. This involves a great deal. To mention only what is most important, lively and purposeful labor competitions, sport and tourism, interest protection, clubs and culture.

Let me emphasize here the special importance of educating student youths. Almost without exception they will be the working KISZ members of tomorrow. If we can "infect" them with love of the movement in the schools this will result in greater mass influence and a suitable number of members among young people in places of work within a few years.

And finally, one more point. Both membership and leadership change quickly within the KISZ. We should not believe that the new leaders of the KISZ organization know the April resolution as well as those who created it. It must be explained and taught again and again so that none of its values are lost in practice. We have found that the quality of the substantive evaluations of work and the evaluations of the individual work of KISZ members increased at the spring membership meetings. Perhaps this is also why the number of those removed from the organization is decreasing and organizational matters are coming into the foreground. It is a minor point but perhaps one worthy of attention that the evaluation membership meetings are ever more frequently called leadership election membership meetings. I do not attribute a magical strength to names but I believe this slip of

the tongue may hide a change of view, Unfortunately a change of name is often a sign that the content of work is shifting in the direction of election although this is secondary. The chief goal is to weigh the achievements and deficiencies of the movement year, pass judgment on the primary organization and every single KISZ member, to carry out a responsible political accounting and, taking this into consideration, to elect those who in their person provide a guarantee for achieving the goals.

Dr Jozsef Nagy: Although I know that the KISZ leaders, with proper modesty, are not accustomed to say so still I begin my answer by saying that the April 1974 resolution was a great station in the life of the KISZ. Actually (a few are inclined to forget this) it was an important link pertaining to the KISZ in the process of carrying out the 1970 youth policy position of the MSZMP Central Committee and the 5 November 1973 resolution of the Political Committee.

I see its significance in the fact that it really put the primary organization and the individual KISZ member in the center and unambiguously cleared up what we mean by the communist character of the KISZ.

The tasks of the young communists of the megye--as we said at the megye delegates conference of the KISZ--have a concrete character, can be carried out and can be reported on. The Baranya Megye Committee of the KISZ built these into its plans and mobilized the jaras and city KISZ committees, the primary organization and the KISZ members in our megye to carry them out. The party organs have aided and supervised their realization appropriately. The megye executive committee of the party recently reviewed and evaluated the scheduled execution of KISZ tasks received from the party.

We wanted the city and jaras party committees and the party primary organization to mobilize with collective tasks the KISZ organizations guided by them. It is our experience that these tasks are reflected in the tasks undertaken individually by the KISZ members.

The basic question for us is the extent to which the Youth Federation can deal with its tasks so we consider it important that the party primary organization should watch and aid their execution. We were thus gratified by those report membership meetings at which the party organizations evaluated in a basic way and recognized the work of the KISZ, naturally noting the weaknesses of the work also.

Looking back over past years I find that KISZ work is characterized primarily by achievements. The majority of the KISZ members do their work honorably and participate actively in realizing the national, megye and local goals of the Fifth Five Year Plan. Community assignments and individual undertakings are tied better to everyday economic tasks.

As a result of the organizing work of the megye KISZ committee, the KISZ members carry out on schedule the majority of the tasks received from the



megye party committee. For example, they participated in the stressed investment at the number five plant of the Mecsek Ore Mining Enterprise, in the reconstruction of the Mecsek Coal Mines, and in the development of housing developments and connected institutions. The KISZ members at the Mecsek Coal Mines organized two communist shifts each year and devoted half of the income--70,000 forints--to the development of child care institutions. These same people collected 280 tons of iron in 1977 and undertook to be sponsors of the new mechanical equipment. At the Bolyi Agricultural Combine 90 percent of the KISZ members are members of socialist brigades. They contributed about 70,000 forints to set up nurseries and kindergartens. KISZ members also aided with special social work the construction of the Mohacs port. It is also a nice success that the summer and fall construction camp work of the school KISZ organization ended with better results than ever before.

It is our experience that the effect of Marxist-Leninist ideals has strengthened among KISZ members, communities with a socialist spirit have strengthened and behavior characteristic of the socialist man has developed. KISZ political training has further enriched the social-political knowledge of the youth.

It is especially justified to speak of the work of the KISZ in educating people to be party members. Between 1975 and 1977 our primary organizations accepted nearly 3,000 members in Baranya Megye. Of those newly admitted 66.3 percent were younger than 30 years of age and 53.5 percent were members of the Youth Federation. The KISZ primary organization was one of the sponsors of the overwhelming majority (92 percent) of the KISZ members. The figures show well what importance we attach to educating young people to become party members. In addition to the better planned party building work of the party organizations these achievements also reflect the educational work of the KISZ.

But we should not be silent about problems! Recognizing that the mass influence of the KISZ cannot be measured by statistical data on the degree of organization it still provokes thought that the better political work is hardly reflected in any change in the degree of organization of young workers and skilled worker apprentices. It is as if the KISZ members were ashamed to "organize" someone to join them and only wait for applicants without inviting them. This delicacy must be eliminated from the practice of KISZ building!

We also have tasks in party building. The age of young people admitted to the party is in general closer to 30 than to 20. Our party organization hardly admit secondary school students or skilled worker apprentices but even in the case of university or college students they admit fewer than they should.

And the problem presenting the most tasks is that because of our unique settlement conditions nearly half of the KISZ members in the megye are commuting workers. We must continue to seek appropriate methods for dealing with them and must create a more lively link between place of residence and place of work.

To sum up my opinion, the KISZ has become more suitable for carrying out its tasks but we cannot speak of a suitability which is valid once and for all. This also can be conceived of only as a process--it must be made suitable day after day for the tasks of tomorrow and the day after tomorrow.

Bertalan Sudi: Prior to the April 1974 resolution of the KISZ there were many uncertainties in KISZ membership relationships. It was difficult to determine what and how much a KISZ member should do to be regarded as a good KISZ member. Uncertainty was characteristic of the members, the leaders and also of us, of the party organization. Under the present system (an action program and the undertaking of individual tasks) the emphasis has been placed on the essence of movement work.

Our cooperative--which has 1,290 members of whom only 490 are actually working members, the rest are pensioners--employs 160 young people. We have a KISZ organization with 56 members. In January we had 60 members but 4 young people were removed from the ranks by the membership meeting. I attended this evaluation membership meeting and I must say that I was most gratified by the open and sincere debate which I heard there. There were splendid and critical contributions--the membership meeting was characterized by an activity which one rarely finds even at party membership meetings. The way in which they spoke to and about people was very pleasing. The decision to remove people from the rolls was made with a feeling of great responsibility in such a way as to not exclude a return to the KISZ of those affected. With the possibility for such action the KISZ has truly become a good political school.

I should note here that we also have good experiences in connection with the youth parliaments. Participation at the last one reached 82 percent. The president of the cooperative gave a report on execution of the business plan and the participants got a picture of the situation of the cooperative, of plans and of possibilities for future development. Much was said about problems and about ways to solve them.

But it is not only the report membership meeting and the youth parliament which provide a forum for the youth. Every day the KISZ can and does take concrete action for the interests of the youth. Our bylaws set down those cases in which the leaders of the cooperative must ask the opinion of the local leaders of the Youth Federation. In our cooperative the opinion of the KISZ leadership is always requested in regard to measures directly affecting young people--for example, nominating young people for awards, changing their base wages, making appointments or relieving people of jobs, and judging requests for further study. Fifty percent of the cooperatives housing construction fund is exclusively for young people. It is also unimaginable that an older leader would be appointed over a group consisting largely of young people without asking the opinion of the KISZ. The KISZ secretary sits at every decision forum. The KISZ leadership avails itself of its rights with responsibility. The political work gives respect and the active and careful participation in decisions gives weight to the KISZ organization.

We have four youth socialist brigades and our well functioning newsletter also provides room for the opinion of young people, The recently introduced conferences of place of work communities are also a representational forum. So the real possibilities are not small but we in the leadership of the party organization are devoting special attention to seeing that no one should suffer a disadvantage for expressing his opinion.

I believe in indirect methods in party guidance of the KISZ because it is my experience that many are inclined to equate direct guidance with intervention and this is only one step from questioning the independence of the KISZ. I attend KISZ programs only if their character makes its necessary or if such participation would have an obvious advantage. It is my experience that the young people--quite justly--shy away from protocol and from officialise obligations in general.

Borbala Szabo: That April resolution, which perhaps is mentioned by more people than actually know it today, made perserverance in work and study a basic obligation, that is a political task. I have already said that it is my experience that there is no fault in this regard among the KISZ members at the Tisza Shoe Factory. Their work plays no small part in the high recognition given our factory. Even the young people outside of the KISZ "get the message" that one must work honestly and honorable. They deserve credit and respect for this! But as for the rest, that is political activity, I do not see the situation so rosy.

Why? Because I see here in the factory the same number of KISZ members as eight to ten years ago. Why do we close our eyes to laziness? Why are we satisfied to say that there are many commuters and we cannot count on them. Have our party organizations and KISZ members done enough to maintain contact with the residential movement organs? Perhaps we could do more in cooperation with them. We are frequently satisfied with the statement, made somewhat shamefacedly that "I am a KISZ member at home." And is that all? Do they then have nothing in common with factory public life? And what sort of KISZ member is he "at home" (if he really is at all)? These are questions to which answers may not be sought with sufficient diligence in our KISZ organization. I have not found one case where they invited someone outside of the KISZ to attend an excursion or club meeting. Or rather, the programs are not ingenious enough and do not sufficiently attract young people to the KISZ.

I feel that there are still many unexploited possibilities in a purposeful utilization of the free time of the KISZ members, and of course not only of the KISZ member youths. Many quit work at 2 o'clock and go shopping and their day is over. I do not say that our young town can offer the cultural, amusement and sport opportunities of a large city. But there is a magnificent culture house here, active artistic groups work in it, but with rather modest numbers. Or this library, in the meeting room of which we are now sitting. I look around and see only school children. Of course, there they still have obligatory reading.

I think that the KISZ should devote more attention to these things with which it might increase the number of politically active youths and thus the number of KISZ members. I consider the undertaking and evaluation of tasks before the community to be a very good method. If this is done with sufficient content it can be most educational. We have already had comprehensive experience with the evaluating membership meetings. The young people passed very strict judgment on performance in economic work. They were a little indulgent in regard to fulfillment of other undertakings. Of course, here also it is proper to judge each according to his real possibilities.

Let me tell an interesting story. We also tried an experiment to make work go better. We created a factory unit KISZ leadership inbetween the factory KISZ committee and the primary organization. And what was the result? That the factory leadership became isolated from the primary organization. However we may look at it the presence of a member of the KISZ committee or of the secretary himself is regarded by the KISZ members as a shot in the arm. I do not want to blame them because I know that they have much to do and many problems. But still I say that they appear **not** frequently among the KISZ members. The reorganization made the situation even worse. The material was handed down to the factory unit secretary and he met with the other secretaries once a month at the secretary's meeting. But if someone would say just a few words during work about problems or even about accomplishments, the public morale would be better. So our little experiment did not succeed. But still there is a good thing in it. The fact that the young people were seeking a better method, we did not restrain them in this and they themselves later said that they had made a mistake, the idea and the reality were different. They became more experienced to this extent. And this is worth much more than if we had tied their hands fearing a possible failure.

Gabor Szekely: I can only speak about our theater. It is my conviction that we are being politically active in a good way and our young artists and the KISZ organization of the theater have vitality if we do our chief work well, that is theater. We are taking a political test day by day, evening by evening and I think we have passed this test. The young people have had a very great role in this.

Question: Let us presume that you are asked by the leader of a youth debate club to lead the debate at one of their sessions. What would you like to talk about with the participants, why would you select this theme and what would you say about it to the youth?

Sandor Jakab: The situation described in your question is not only a journalist's imagination. I often meet with young people if not exactly in the forum described. Let me add that this is not a merit but rather an obligation, if you like, an obligation that goes with the job.

If I were to select a theme I would start from my experience that young people are interested primarily by the past and the present, which is perhaps

natural. At the same time, the phenomenon of today and the prospects for the future cannot be understood in all their depth without the knowledge of the past. Nor can we dispense with the past experiences of our social development in daily practice or in our planning work. I consider very true the idea expressed in the title of a recent article in IFJUKOMMUNISTA: The present is built from the past.

So I would like to talk to the young people about where we started from, what struggles we had, what we created and how and what lessons we learned in regard to the present and the future. For the social policy practice of the future the experiences acquired are no less important than sincere enthusiasm and intentions to improve things.

Dr Jozsef Nagy: Let me begin by saying that it is my experience that the youth debate clubs provide good frameworks for political activity. If I were to participate in a session of a youth debate club I would naturally talk about those things which the young people are interested in. That is, I would most like to answer their questions. I know from experience that these can be very many sided and affect the real problems of our age.

But I do not mean to avoid answering; of the many themes I believe two should be stressed. So I would select as one theme what it means to participate in the construction of a developed socialism in a creative manner. In accordance with one's strengths and abilities what can one do at his place of work or in his place of study to develop further this world which, in the words of the poet, is a "half finished world placed finished in our hands." I would try to make the participants see that the development of the socialist society is the task of the present young generation also, that they are not extras on the set but are important actors. It is in the knowledge of this that they should prepare themselves and gather knowledge for the future.

In our age life is extraordinarily intensive. It follows that young people must become acquainted with the problems of today (and tomorrow) in a much broader and many sided way.

We must recognize that even in times of peace we are participants in a revolutionary transformation, builders of a developed socialist society and developers of the socialist type of man. We must make them understand that even in their daily tasks one can create things which are above the average, outstanding.

The other theme about which I would like to talk with the youth is the sphere of questions concerning the socialist way of life. I would try to suggest to my debate partners that we must struggle together against apathy, turning inward and cynicism. We must increase a feeling for public life and responsibility felt for the problems of the community.

I would like to inspire the youth to love of homeland. They should respect the progressive memories of our history and the cultural values created by the people over the centuries. This might protect them against one of the

most dangerous ideological currents, cosmopolitanism. They should know our real place in the world so that they should acquire that just self respect which our people has worthily won by its work in the past three decades.

Bertalan Sudi: I would not talk with them in a knowledge spreading way. And if it was up to me I would go among young graduates beginning their careers, those coming to their first jobs. I feel that very interesting effects influence young people at such a time. I would tell them that there is no law that they should be in a disadvantageous situation for years at the beginning of their careers; or that they should be ground in sharp conflict situations between their creative desires and the objective possibilities. I would prove with many examples that those who would be good leaders within a few years must also be good followers. I would talk to them about good compromises which do not mean opportunism or tactical considerations. I would talk to them about the development of their capabilities, that a well intended "spontaneous failure" is not a sin but only a mistake, that they should disclose them if they find them but should treat them according to their real value, but that they should mercilessly root out deliberate wrongdoing. Such a conflict situation is worthy of struggle.

I would say to the young people that it is not true that one always runs into a wall if he wants something new, if he wants to work. In my opinion there are four conditions for beginning and conducting a career successfully and actively. First: Always perform perfectly the tasks entrusted to you; second: Do not commit the same mistake against which you are struggling in others; third: Develop around yourself a healthy collective based upon principled foundations for comrades are needed in every struggle; and fourth: Be always prepared at a high level so that you can worthily respond to events, in politics as in economics, you must be well informed for life is less and less tolerant of spontaneity.

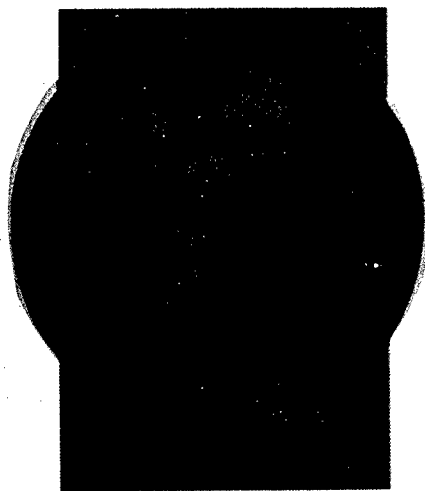
Borbala Szabo: Those who know me might consider it a hobby horse of mine but still I would like to talk to the young people and tell them to make use of what our society and our enterprise therein offer them--study, and study does not end with the acquiring of knowledge but continues with the transmittal of the knowledge acquired. I have already noted that we have no problems with young people in the economic area. But there are moral and behavioral questions about which I would like to talk to them. Let me give one of these as an example. They should not be ashamed to speak up if someone in their circle violates the norms of social living. Let us say in transportation. I commute. I travel by train and a train is not a bus where you can get on and off. Sometime ago three or four young boys began to behave rudely. I will not say what words they used. There were older people there, we will not criticize them now, and younger people too. But no one said anything even though I could see that they did not like it. My temper began to rise. I told the boys that even if they were children could they not behave like human beings? They looked at me in surprise. I suddenly thought, what would happen if I got in a fight? But this was not their reaction; they became quiet. This was surprising to me. I believed

that there would be an argument, that they would talk back, And in an interesting way, despite the way in which they were talking to one another, they did not talk back to me. They were not respecting my "old" age or something like that. Perhaps when they got off they said something like "what was wrong with that old hen or chicken," But the fact is that there before several people someone could stop them in a moment.

I would describe this experience to the young people. So that they should understand that it is not enough to know something, to see that something is not right, one must also act so that this knowledge would radiate from us and lead others also to the good and make life around us more beautiful.

Gabor Szekely: Conversation is not our job. I do not like organized debates, especially if they are about generalities. Still if I were to decide what I would talk about with the participants of the debate club I would stick to my trade. I would tell them about our program plans, about why we were presenting the plays we did. I would say, for example, that we presented "Timon of Athens" although it took place in ancient Athens because we were seeking answers to problems of today. I would talk to the young people about whether the world around us is determined to such a degree that an individual can add nothing to it or whether we were creating this world, creating it day by day, and thus have a share in the responsibility for it. So I would be talking about the simplest but the most important and at the same time the most complex questions of life: I would talk about responsibility with the youths. About the responsibilities which everyone must assume, for himself and others.

[Biographic information on participants of round table discussion]



Sandor Jakab comes from a mining family. His childhood was similar to that of his contemporaries but it was more difficult because of what followed from the internment of his father who was an illegal party member. He joined the movement at the age of 16 years in 1942. After the liberation he was a member of the leadership in a primary organization. In 1945 he was a student in the first six-month course at the party school on Karolina ut. He was then youth secretary for the Nograd Megye committee of the MKP [Hungarian Communist Party] and then megye secretary for the MADISZ [Federation of Hungarian Democratic Youth]. Later he entered the party apparatus where he served as leader of a party school, journalist, leader of an agitation and propaganda department and then as megye secretary.

In 1956 he was first secretary of the Nograd Megye committee of the MSZMP and in this office led armed resistance and guided the reorganization of the party. For a short time, one and a half years, he was first deputy to the Minister of Internal Affairs. Beginning in 1968 he was chief of the agitation and propaganda department of the MSZMP Central Committee and from 1970 chief of the party and mass organizations department of the Central Committee.

He is a university graduate. He has written a book and many studies about the history of the labor movement and people's democracy.

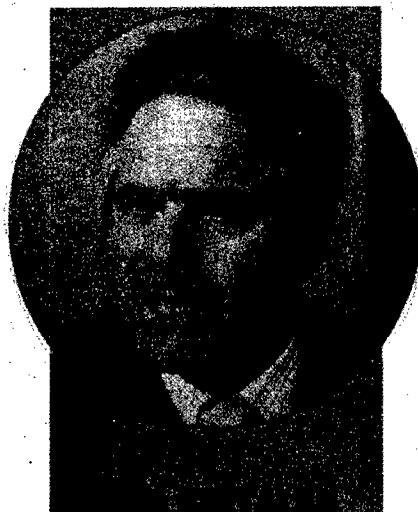
Since 1966 he has been a member of the Central Committee of the party.



Dr Jozsef Nagy worked in his youth as an agricultural, forestry and industrial worker and then he was a commercial and bank employee. He has participated in the labor movement since 1941. He has been a party member since the year of our liberation and in the year of the turning he became chief at his previous place of work and since then has participated in the life of our society in various leading assignments. In the meantime he has constantly increased his knowledge and won a doctoral degree at the Karl Marx University of Economic Sciences. He has worked in Baranya Megye for two



decades as megye director of the Hungarian National Bank, as secretary of the megye party committee responsible for economic policy questions and, since 1973, as first secretary. The 11th Congress of the MSZMP elected him a member of the Central Committee,



Bertalan Sudi was born in 1935. He graduated from the agricultural schools in Kalocsa and Hodmezovasarhely and then served an internship of two years in the Bacsbokod MGT SZ [Agricultural Producer Cooperative] which now bears the name Golden Spike. He became a member of the MSZMP in 1961. He graduated from the United Officers School in 1962 and served thereafter as a political officer with the Border Guard. He entered the reserve as a captain in 1969. He then became a personnel chief and, beginning in 1970, secretary of the party organization after the unification of two local cooperative farms. In 1975 he graduated with a specialty from the Evening University of Marxism-Leninism. He is now a second year correspondence law student in Szeged.



Borbala Szabo has always worked at the Tisza Shoe Factory. It was here that she learned her trade as a maker of uppers for shoes, here became a skilled worker, a socialist brigade leader and then a foreman.

She was a member of the KISZ from 1962 to 1970. She was a delegate to the 6th and 7th Congresses of the KISZ and in the period between Congresses she was a member of the Central Committee of the KISZ.

She was admitted to the party more than ten years ago, taking into consideration the recommendation of the KISZ organization, and since 1970 she has been a member of the leadership of a party primary organization. In 1975, barely 30 years old, the 11th Congress of the MSZMP elected her to be a member of the Central Committee of the party.



Gabor Szekely was born in Budapest in 1944. After graduation from secondary school he worked as a factory worker for one year. He graduated from the Theater and Film Arts Academy in 1967. His examination production was in Szolnok. He has worked in the theater of this city for eleven years and for five years has been its director. He also teaches at the academy as assistant to Tamas Major. He participated as a delegate in the 11th Congress of the MSZMP.

As our article was going to press Gabor Szekely was named chief director of the National Theater.

8984

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## HUNGARY

### NATIONAL AIR DEFENSE COMMAND OPERATIONS DESCRIBED

Budapest ORSZAG-VILAG in Hungarian 17 May 78 pp 16, 17

[Report by Istvan Bela Bertalan: "Air Defense from Underground--  
No Unauthorized Entry - The Radar Sees Everything - When the Fighter  
Asks Permission to Fire - Mysterious Maps on the Sky"]

[Text] It is the brain center of the national air defense, center of the neural and vascular network of the air defense system. It is the main tactical command post for the control of domestic air defense units... All are applicable designations although none describe the facts precisely.

Control of the domestic air defense is carried out by an extremely multi-fold and yet organically linked, strictly centralized setup. We are many stories underground. Down here, seasons and day-nights cease. The temperature is the same come summer or winter, day or night, it is completely independent of the weather and other external factors. The concept of time is also different. At times it appears at a standstill, other times as if it were racing. The rock labyrinth is made suitable for workers by its own electric generator base and air filtering installation.

We are in the office of the tactical unit commander on duty. The room resembles a giant underground laboratory; in the phantasy of the early Verne fan, Captain Nemo's subterranean empire appears. However, no secret marine actions are guided from here, but rather the events occurring in the airspace of the nation are controlled and followed.

The platform, raised on one side of the rock-hall is dominated by a several meters-wide work table of the officer on duty. There are phones of different colors, illuminated switchboards, instruments on the table. The room is otherwise semidark. Facing the table is a plexiglass map the size of a house: Hungary. The map is divided into hundreds of squares by a numbered coordinate system. Behind it, scarcely visible shadows move: that is the workplace of the earphoned technicians who receive by the minute, by the second even, exact information about the aerial events above and around the country. They use reversed script to write on the transparent map the numbers and signs intelligible only to the professionals.

Concepts to be clarified: aerial border, air space defense. The commander of the tactical post, formerly an active fighter pilot, explains: The aerial border is an imaginary perpendicular line extended from the country border which extends from the ground to infinity, in theory. Air space defense, however, is not limited to the space enclosed by the aerial border but is considerably more widespread. The highly sensitive radar can "see" several hundred km-s past the aerial borders and can record airborne, approaching or disappearing aerial bodies from a distance of as much as two countries. Without this, air space defense could not be imagined. Modern airplanes race at speeds which are multiples of the speed of sound and if an enemy plane would be detected only when crossing the border, it would be too late.

The officer on duty points to an important district about a thousand km-s away: Take a look at this area, he comments on the sights. A considerable fraction of airborne forces under the NATO chief command is located in this area. And at this very moment we know, "sense", exactly how many of their planes are in the air, in what direction and at what speed they are flying.

Do you recognize the passenger planes approaching from hundreds of km-s? If not, trouble can start easily...

A sectional chief of the tactical command post, a lean, youthful lieutenant colonel answers. He has worked in this field for over 20 years. He spreads a large map on the table. This is the schematic flight path of flights in the various districts of the country planned and announced for today. More precisely, the fraction of them secured up to the time of our visit. The hundreds of entangled lines are seemingly unintelligible with masses of notations not understandable by the layman. The supplement to the scheme, a document 28 typewritten pages long, contains the data on the planned and announced flights for the next 24 hours. "Of course, this includes only a fraction of tomorrow's flights", adds the officer.

So many flights on a single day? "This promises to be a relatively quiet day", he says and adds: "More frequently, we must count on a very strenuous program of flights in rapid succession above every square kilometer of the country. The synchronization of flights requires very exact planning. Even minute inattention can not be tolerated. Only this way can collisions be avoided, a few sad examples of which occurred during the past few years in distant parts of the world".

The work of the flight control service extends to all flying bodies: scheduled passenger planes, military, agricultural, medical, air patrol, hydroplanes, sports planes, helicopters as well as meteorological, artillery and other balloons. Without the knowledge and permission of the control service, no flight can take place in the country's airspace. This is an indispensable requirement both from the aspect of safety and air defense. Flights are regulated by even stricter rules than is traffic on public roads. Without permission of the control service, no plane can deviate

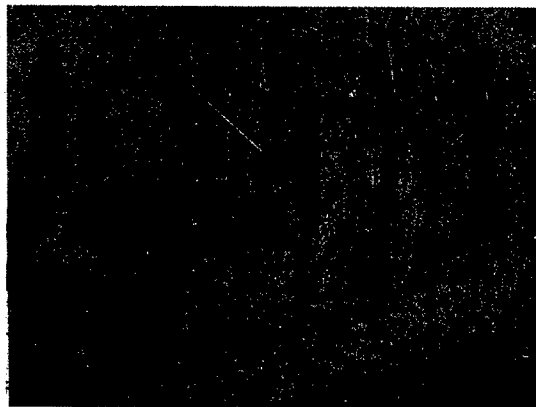
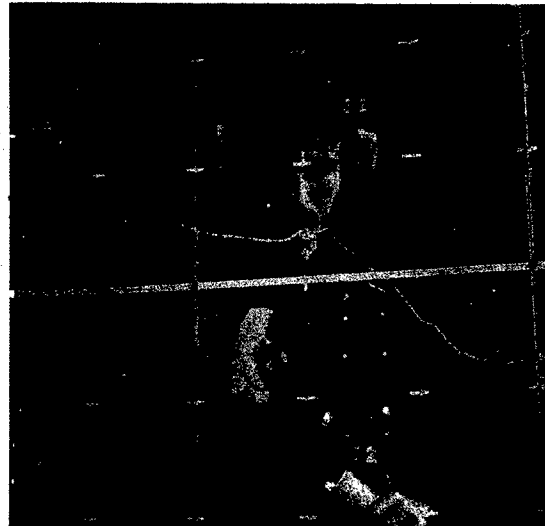
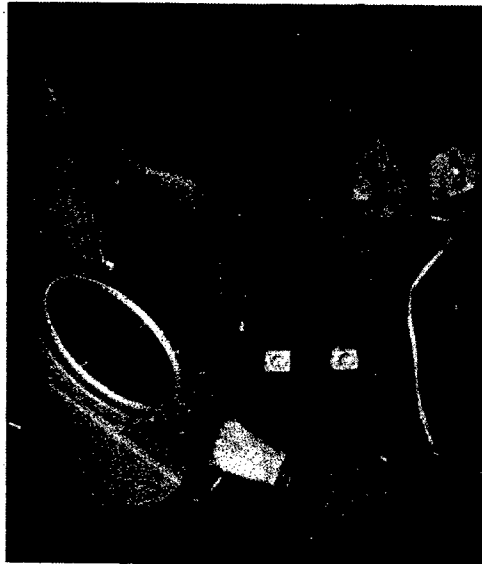
from its prescribed course. International flights can use only those air corridors defined by international agreements. A willful violation of the course is followed by a strict investigation of the offense and fines.

This means also that the commander on duty at the central tactical post controlling the air defense of the country can immediately and unequivocally determine of the planes constantly followed by radar whether their flight is scheduled in the plan. And if a plane of unknown intent approaches, or announced planes deviate from their assigned air corridor? Measures cannot be avoided, and are taken.

Excitement, minutes filled with tension? They are not lacking, of course.

This afternoon we had an exciting case, says the post commander on duty. One radar reported the approach of an unknown object. We called the capture fighters in readiness. One pilot reported: "I see the object". Namely, the surface radar of the fighter plane also registered the unknown flying body detected within our airspace. The capture fighter approached the object by the second in order to reach optimal distance for its annihilation. Suddenly, my temples started to throb. I felt that the next moments may be decisive. Should the capture fighter ask permission to fire, the fate of the unknown flying body depends on me. Should I or shouldn't I give permission? I have to decide immediately. If it is a plane with hostile intentions, my only reply can be, "Fire!". Within a few seconds, the capture fighter reported: "The object disappeared". It was immediately clear why. Because the radar picked up not an enemy plane but an electrically charged cloud. Well yes, such things can happen in our profession.

Experienced officers with broad training, excellent professional warrant officers, dedicated civil servants and enlisted men provide the services here. Members of the next shift will continue the work without a moment's interruption when they assume their duty.



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JOURNAL CONTINUES DEBATE ABOUT NEW ELITE

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 22, 3 Jun 78 p 8

Myslek Reply

[Article by Wieslaw Myslek: "The Landscape Following the 'Second Offensive'"]

[Text] In his article (POLITYKA 18) Jerzy Urban agreed with the main tenets of my article "Second Offensive" (PRAWO I ZYCIE, No 17), because he admitted: "The threats from privately-run businesses are no greater today than they were over a decade ago." He writes: "I agree with this diagnosis of the author's and also with the overwhelming majority of his article." This pains me all the more in that for polemic purposes he writes in "Second Offensive" opinions which are the product of his own imagination and conjecture.

My opponent says that the article which he is arguing over represents part of some sort of journalistic campaign to "reanimate old divisions." On the other hand, the fact is that nobody besides Urban and Myslek has recently joined in with any group of journalists to take up the problem of privately-run businesses. Maybe Urban has better information. Why then does he not reveal it?

He also says that Myslek's main attack "is aimed at private enterprise." On the other hand, I by no means equate privately-run businesses with private enterprise, or make a fetish of the latter, and in the text under dispute I did not use this terms so much as once.

This is similar to other views which brand my polemist, the concern to straighten out crooked paths which he is travelling, not for the first time. But let us leave Urban's polemics to Urban and to the periodicals which publish him.

There are more important problems and, what is more, real ones, in his text. Alongside "the polemics," there are opinions and judgments included which merit critical attention, because they openly reveal specific views of our reality, paving the way here and there under the skin, and here they are selected in the uniformity of ideological concepts. There is a certain logic and consis-

tency in them, despite the fact that this is accompanied by careless mix-ups which confuse phenomena and concepts: "individualism" and "individuality," "privately-run shops" and "private enterprise," "offensives" and "crusades," and so on. So there is the impression that the author of "Military Array" has, in his polemic fervor, lost control over what he is writing about and what he is writing.

In Urban's meanderings the initial hypothesis is a pessimistic commentary on the society's state of mobility and a description of the decline in moral conditions and the disappearance of human activity, which, he suggests, are the consequence not so much of the expansion of privately-run business as the socialization of ownership and work relations, because, alongside the fact that socialism has been an ideological success, according to him, expressed in the fact that people do not try to achieve a change in their status, a shift from socialized economy to private, it has also produced adverse phenomena. We read in "Military Array": "The socialist personality and the orientation that few people desire to become involved in private business also have their negative aspects. Under our conditions once people have achieved a sense of social well-being and security they become unaccustomed to taking initiative and being enterprising. They lack any sense of competitiveness and tendency to take a risk." Urban assumes that without "individualistic attitudes and incentives, the society becomes more passive, more unified, and less capable of creativity."

In the light of this conviction the whole advancement of Poland in terms of civilization, culture, and social aspects becomes a mystery for the historian, sociologist, and economist, because if individualistic attitudes are more likely to provide incentives to action than collective ones are, then such phenomena as the heroism of work during the period of the reconstruction of Poland, the later development of competition in work, and the dynamics and momentum of economic changes must have come from some secret supernatural sources and motivating incentives. Urban's comparison of the values of private enterprise with the inadequacies of socialized enterprise leads him to overestimate the significance of the former and to rate it as a panacea to all our ills. In this way, the order of causes and effects is reversed. As a result from the position of requirements of objective analysis, Urban's suggestions become irritating. It is particularly obvious that he is saying that the private sector's significance goes beyond economic pragmatism, when he detects in it "a deeper, noneconomic aspect of the existence of the private economy." Now, in concrete terms, just what sort of aspect?

We can see from the author's deductions that in the sphere of the creation and popularization of models of behavior and characteristics of personality on the scale of contemporary needs, private enterprise is the vehicle of the attitudes of activity, risk-taking, and competitiveness, which, reflecting on the rest of society, is going to tear away from monotony and sluggishness. Those people who sinking into them, when they work "at a job." Urban's fears sometimes become comic, for example, when he writes that private enterprise is "the pikes, indispensable in our pond, for more than purely economic



reasons." The comparison is even a fitting one, although not in the way intended, because the pikes are predators which grow in keeping with the number of weaker individuals they consume.

Of course for purely pragmatic reasons, at this stage of development in our country the private sector must exist. Up until now, however, nobody has given it rank in a positive ideological sense. Scientific socialism assumes that this sector will disappear in the structure of future society. On the other hand, Urban gives it the rank of a joint component of socialist moral values, a lasting element of the new social formation. This view sounds very funny.

Interested parties are eager to accept this idea, but I do not know how Urban will manage to convince ordinary working people that in terms of attitudes they are less valuable than the private sector, because even in overcoming difficulties and various problems, working in the socialized economy, in a mechanism more complex than a small private enterprise, one must really put forth tremendous energy, ingenuity, and agility.

Consequently my opponent is launching an ideology which fits the attitudes and aspirations of people of the private sector, individualism. Getting proposals through for the rehabilitation of individualism here seems very doubtful. I am afraid that he has forgotten the content of the category of "individualism," as well as that of the opposing "collectivism," community orientation. For this purpose it is worth, for example, looking up the respective terms in the "Wielka Encyklopedia Powszechna" [Great Universal Encyclopedia] (Volume 5), or even just in lexicons or dictionaries of foreign terms. In no sense is individualism related to socialism, either as a doctrine, or as a social, psychological, or moral concept. It is the opposite. From there Urban goes on, accepting for himself the role of herald of this orientation, in contrast to a collective attitude. He writes: "It is dangerous to contrast the individualism of the social (that is, collectivist -- W.M.) orientation of people, as Myslek does, because it actually requires individuality." In a word, individuality, that is, the personality of people, is liberated only, or mainly, through individualism. The community smothers it.

Urban got himself into a blind alley in the apotheosis of individualism. It is true that he warns that individualism should inspire that initiative which has "as its goal the increase of the general wealth." Of course! But just how do you do that? How do you maintain the vitality of wolves while at the same time teaching them not to eat the sheep? We are listening eagerly. But for the moment we will put this dream in with the fairy tales. The only function which the apotheosis of individualism serves is to supply privately-run businesses with a moral alibi. On the other hand, the method of treating a cold with a bacillus leading to pneumonia will be eagerly accepted by these groups, and only by them.

When Urban writes features in SZPILKI, he often does a marvelous job of amusing us, but when he adopts the position of an innovator of ideological concepts

and in a very special way tries to improve our cognitive tools and change reality, then he stops being amusing.

But let us return to the thread in which the polemist agrees with the content of "Second Offensive." He admits that the wave of privately-run businesses is swelling, that asocial attitudes are becoming an increasing threat. At the same time he feels that this new situation by no means calls for new resources in terms of social intervention. On the contrary, he states that in order to master it it is sufficient "to add language to the legal and moral regulations which exist in our country, to awaken those mechanisms of control and correction which have become rusty."

Fortunately he is alone in this conviction. State policy, many concrete actions, proves the creation of new instruments of intervention to counteract privately-run business. The newest example is the draft bill on social control commissions, which was recently discussed in Sejm committees.

This is a component element of the offensive against asocial attitudes, against all sorts of privately-run business in all sectors of our economy, although it is surely a far cry from the "military array" into which Urban tries to force the statements made in my article, which affirms just such a course of action.

#### Urban Rebuttal

[Article by Jerzy Urban: "Apparent Radicalism"]

[Text] Wieslaw Myslek says that he is not stirring up old divisions, but he refers to the polemics of "Soup From the Kettle" published 10 years ago in POLITYKA (No 6, 1969), speaking right away about "certain periodicals," where proelite trends are launching a counteroffensive against the ideals of socialism. Hence he is renewing accusations which seem to have gone stale long ago. Wieslaw Myslek does not use the concept of "private enterprise" even once. He only writes about the social stratum or group from which he excludes peasant-owners of private farms. By these small producers other than farmers Myslek seems to mean only song-writers collecting royalties. Wieslaw Myslek does not call for any crusade but only sees the pressing need to expand the conflict, to stir up the social battle, intervention, the need to restrict and restrain. Correct, to develop an organized attack and stir up in Poland today a social battle cannot in any way be called a crusade.

In general I am willing to say that Wieslaw Myslek uses very careful formulations, so that he does not deviate from the line and maintains ideological purity. Only I am afraid that this safe conduct, this patent loyalty, for which Myslek is timidly striving in his polemics, will be of value to him, if he embellishes it with the signature of a person who, as my adversary says of Urban, denies the contribution of the socialist economy and prosocial attitudes, and admits the superiority of private enterprise and individualism.

The important difference of opinion between Myslek and me concerns, on the other hand, important issues. I say that Poland needs stability and a critical continuation of post-December policy today very much. This means not the destruction but improvement, among other things, of structured regulations of wage and tax policy and the assurance of a sense of people's permanent contribution. On the other hand, when Myslek calls for an organized attack on privately-run business, the awakening of some sort of campaign engineered against those for whom things are going better than for others, although they have not clear merit to it, the method of fighting adverse phenomena creates doubts in my mind, because a product of spectacular actions is an atmosphere of an extraordinary state, an escape from investment, and the destabilization of the private sector.

I admit that he is quick. The attack signal is sounded for a battle with the stratum which Myslek singles out of the society, using the criterion of high earnings and poor attitudes, like private business and new bourgeoisie. "...It is exceptionally difficult to define in the class sense that group which personifies this social current which is foreign to socialism," he writes. And hence this is some sort of class of modern exploiters. Concretely he mentions only speculators and artists who receive large royalties for showy works. From the current which should be combatted he excludes the small owners who are peasants, and hence he includes the rest in it. "The individual experience of the average citizen of our country makes it possible for us to establish without error those individuals who belong to the group of people living in a style which clearly deviates from the socialist lifestyle," Myslek stated in PRAWO I ZYCIE. It seems to me to be a tremendously dangerous desire to attack people who make up a circle, stratum, or class, selected by feelings according to individual experiences, which Myslek calls faultless, because this would concretely signify arbitrarily pointing one's finger at one's neighbor whose wealth is envied or whose lifestyle is in some way irritating. On the other hand, Myslek demands that organizational support be given for a battle entered into using such fuzzy criteria.

Because both W. Myslek and I consider privately-run business to proliferated to a considerable extent, his attitude may seem radical and mine conservative, but the difference of opinion is based on the fact that our diagnoses of the social ills are different. Myslek thinks that society can be divided up into a positive majority and a minority living at the cost of others, subject to privately-run business. He says that this minority must be singled out, and then that the majority must be mobilized against it, must get a hold of today's elite as once happened with the land-holders and capitalists, so that private business and the new bourgeoisie will be destroyed. On the other hand, I think that our society cannot be divided up into one group of bad people who should be shot and a spotless majority. There is simply no social group in which all evil is concentrated with an opposite group of the rest who are the embodiment of all that is good. Under our social conditions a division into exploiters and exploited would be nonsense and fiction. Private business is not a defect which is characteristic of some special group or stratum. It is an evil which we encounter at various levels of the social ladder and it has various forms and

coexists with other characteristics of a given person and does not expressly define his social role the way under capitalism the possession of a factory made an exploiter out of the owner in such a way that the class war could be personified.

An efficient, deserving factory director in the course of making an investment takes a very small amount of money to build himself a summer house, or uses money from the plant fund to rent a house in Zakopane, supposedly for employees but actually for himself. Somebody misuses his position, so that his children receive an apartment out of turn. A scholar exploits his authority as director of a scientific institute to increase his own scientific contribution at the cost of tasks of a social nature and the careers of colleagues. A group of construction workers enter into a conspiracy, finishing the apartment in such a way that the residents later have to get someone in privately at their own cost to fix the installation. A salesperson reserves attractive goods for people willing to express their gratitude in some way. A physician insures that his private patients receive priority in hospital admissions. A person in charge of an official car for business shuts his eyes to the misdoings of the chauffeur, and as a result insures that his own private car will be taken care of free of charge. The relatives and friends of the boss have priority in obtaining good positions. These instances and similar ones denote private business. And because this is so, there is no way to distinguish as some sort of group or class the people who act this way. Private business is an incentive for deeds which is usually accompanied by other socially useful and respected activities. This is why we must combat certain tendencies, deeds, possibilities, and habits, and not some special social group.

In order to be effective in combatting private interests, we must build up stable mechanisms permanently making it difficult to use one's vocation or position or some sort of power over people or things for private purposes contrary to the ideal of living together in society. Alongside rigid supervisory and social control, this cause may be furthered by open criticism, for which no people or areas of life can be taboo. The good operation of representative bodies, full democracy in party and union meetings, social engineering to break down cliquish ties, limits on the extent to which an employee as a citizen is dependent on the boss, open information on all sorts of privileges, better functioning of public opinion, clearer differentiation between what is permitted and what is not permitted, economic mechanisms which reward behavior which coincides with the public good, public information and branding of manifestations of private business interests, more severe and certain penalties in the party and on the job, and also in the courts in cases where the law applies. This is the rough list of the group of factors which would make it possible to limit private business interests after they have been functioning well for a while. Unlike Myslek, I think that the thing is not to have some sort of campaign, crusade, or attack number two or number six. What is needed is constant, permanent operation of means which would make it difficult and untolerated for people to exploit their social role for private gain contrary to the interests of all. In the area of general stability of relations, it is necessary to stabilize factors interfering with

the private interest and not to wage some sort of ad hoc campaigns or extraordinary means, as Myslek proposes. I also consider the permanent inculcation of a system in our life to interfere with private interests to be an instrument which is more radical than a noisy crusade. Any trickster can get around temporary efforts.

I also differ from Wieslaw Myslek in what I consider to be the source of contemporary ills and injustices. He considers private business and the new bourgeoisie to be the miasma of the capitalist past, which they are not reviving. "For a long time still our economy is going to have nonsocialist components, which in the sphere of social life is bound to give rise to effects which weaken and counteract tendencies to structure the society as a real community," writes Myslek in PRAWO I ZYCIE. "But the existence of these factors is the basis for reviving those cultural models and lifestyles which compete with the model values of the socialist society. The danger from private business is now greater than it was over a decade ago, and, what is more, the creation of it, to be more exact: the revitalization of this danger was difficult to avoid." Thus, despite denials printed above in "Landscape After the Second Attack," Myslek sees the main source of private business to be in the existence of private enterprise.

I see some over-simplification in the concept assuming all manifestations of evil presently appearing to be inherited from the previous regime, the old structure of ownership and system of values. Every social reality and regime has its many-sided effects. Real socialism differs from ideal socialism and must do so, because everything which is real deviates from the pure ideal. Therefore, I differ from Myslek in that I do not believe that socialism is an idyll which has a relic from the past in the form of private enterprise, which like cancer is destroying the social organism. I think that socialism is giving birth to good, which has side effects in the form of various defects in relations stemming also from the fact that the socioeconomic mechanisms which have come into being are not ideal and neither are the people. It is a bad love of socialism which seeks to hide or beautify the facts, because it is only the observation of defects and their true causes which can help to improve the relationships.

By the nature of things, action in the sphere of private enterprise is affected by private business interests, simply because personal benefit becomes an obvious, undisguised goal of everyone working for himself. Altruistic intent may occur, but it does not have to, and if it does, it is of secondary importance. What is important is whether the society objectively derives any benefit out of private enterprise, because if it does not, then the latter loses its *raison d'etre*. I simply think that this private business, which in our life is a very grave evil, has not major relationship to private enterprise, as Myslek supposes, because the individualistic motivating factors are obvious and clear. A worse and more common evil is private business interest hidden behind the shield of activity in which it is not private interests which are officially represented, but social ones, that private business which operates in the quiet

conversion to private ownership, wherein the goods and possibilities which people operating within the socialized economy administer find their way into private hands.

For the sake of orderliness, I will still say that I do not think, as Myslek accuses me of, that human activity and morals wither as the result of the socialization of property and that therefore Poland's development during the past decades had unknown social sources, because only private enterprise has real values. This is a demagogic insinuation. I wrote only that many people's inclination towards vested business interests is by no means the same thing as the tendency to undertake private or semi-private commercial outlets. In this direction there is a reluctance which comes from socialist upbringing, mentality and customs. People are afraid of the responsibility, competition, and risk. Meanwhile, these characteristics are obviously necessary in the realm of the socialized economy. Certain skills and predispositions which undoubtedly are characteristics of people who run private businesses would be useful to utilize in the realm of the socialist economy, not in order to convert everything back to private ownership, Mr Myslek, but only because at the present time our economy needs people with courage, initiative, and competitive thinking, people who represent individualism, the tendency to run a risk and take responsibility upon oneself. The system of WOG's [great economic organizations], the rise in the independence of economic units, and the need for nonpassive and nonconventional action create this situation. Turning over small shops under agency agreements, support for strong, specialized farms, crafts, boarding houses, and so on, and the concession system of restaurants are the result of experience which shows the ineffectiveness of central management of small economic entities. And the long-range prospects here point to tying private enterprise in with the whole socialist economy and ever more closely bringing private enterprise into its service. While Myslek considers the development of private enterprise to be an increase in predators who eat the weaker beings and initiative based on individualism to be the call for wolves to come to life to eat the sheep, he talks about some sort of reality which in our country does not exist, except in his imagination.

On the other hand, the recently created social control commissions are not supposed to be an instrument in some sort of intervention against privately-run business, but merely a permanent device for exerting social pressure to facilitate permanent opposition to the most varied sorts of impropriety connected to the operation of offices, commerce, medicine, transportation, and so on, and so forth.

It is too bad that Wieslaw Myslek made it necessary to explain concepts, declare intentions, and say exactly who said what and who did not say what, that important social problems worth discussing were overshadowed by these other considerations. Was it not in this concern for himself, to see that he himself came out immaculate and to defame his adversary, that this very same private interest, against which my opponent desires to mount a crusade was revealed?

10790  
CSO: 2600

DECREE ON ORGANIZATION, DEVELOPMENT OF TOURISM

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 36, 3 May 78  
pp 1-3

/Decree of the Council of State on the Organization and Development of Mass Tourism/

/Text/ For the purpose of organizing and developing mass tourism,

The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania hereby decrees:

Article 1. In the Socialist Republic of Romania mass tourism, an important form of organizing recreation and active rest, of strengthening health, and of educating working people, the youth, is a major objective in the policy of our party and state.

The General Union of Trade Unions of Romania, the Union of Communist Youth, the Union of Communist Student Associations of Romania, the National Council of the Pioneers Organization, the National Council of Women, the Council for Socialist Culture and Education, the Ministry of Education and Teaching, the Ministry of Tourism, the National Council of Physical Education and Sports, the National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives, and the Central Union of Artisan Cooperatives must be constantly concerned with organizing, developing, and diversifying mass tourist programs.

Article 2. For the purpose of coordinating, uniformly guiding and organizing mass tourist activity, the Central Commission for Mass Tourism, the county commissions for mass tourism, and the commissions for mass tourism in socialist units are established.

Article 3. The Central Commission for Mass Tourism is established as a mass representative organ, under the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions of Romania and the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth and has the following powers:

- a. Coordinates the organization of tourist activities in order to draw the great mass of working people into systematically practicing tourism;
- b. Guides and coordinates the activity of county commissions of tourism;
- c. Periodically analyzes the development of tourist activities and determines measures for the continuous expansion of mass tourism and the upgrading of its educational contents and forms of development;
- d. Establishes measures for the continuous improvement and diversification of the activity of tourist education and propaganda;
- e. Monitors the sensible use of the material base of tourism throughout the year;
- f. Periodically informs the Council of Ministers about the development of mass tourist activity.

Article 4. The county commissions for mass tourism shall operate under the county councils of trade unions and the county committees of the Union of Communist Youth, having the following powers:

- a. Organize mass tourist activity in the county in order to draw working people into systematically practicing tourism;
- b. Guide and support the activity of the commissions for mass tourism in socialist units;
- c. Propose measures to capitalize on the tourist and recreational potential of the areas adjacent to localities and to expand new tourist areas;
- d. Are constantly concerned with making full use of the material base of tourism all year round;
- e. Ensure the continuous development and diversification of the activity of tourist education and propaganda;
- f. Periodically analyze the manner in which the activity of drawing working people in the county into tourist programs is developing; take measures to continuously develop mass tourism and to upgrade the educational contents and its forms of unfolding;
- g. Periodically inform the Central Commission for Mass Tourism on the development of mass tourist activity in the county.

Article 5. The commissions for mass tourism in socialist units are attached to the trade union committees and the committees of



the Union of Communist Youth organizations. During off-hours, weekends, and legal holidays they must organize widely accessible mass tourist and recreational-amusing programs -- outings, hiking trips, excursions, tourist orientation contests, and cyclotourist outings-- and involvement in cultural-sports events and outdoor festivals.

As a rule, the excursions and hiking trips shall be organized in the surroundings of localities, with the aim of introducing and including in the tourist circuit the recreational areas, the scenic and historical sites, and the traditional locations in which cultural-educational programs are usually organized.

Article 6. The Central Commission for Mass Tourism is made up of 17-25 members, representatives of the General Union of Trade Unions of Romania, the Union of Communist Youth, the Union of Communist Student Association of Romania, the National Council of the Pioneers Organization, the National Council of Women, the Committee for People's Councils' Affairs, the Council for Socialist Culture and Education, the Ministry of Education and Teaching, the Ministry of Tourism, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Labor, the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications, the National Council for Physical Education and Sports, the National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives, the Central Union of Artisan Cooperatives, the Central Union of Consumer Cooperatives, the Department of Civil Aviation, and of other central organizations and institutions.

The representative of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions of Romania is the chairman of the commission and the representative of the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth is the vice chairman.

The members of the commission are designated by the councils or bureaus of the organs named in Paragraph 1.

Article 7. The county commissions for mass tourism are comprised of 11-17 members, representatives of the county councils of trade unions, county committees of the Union of Communist Youth, county councils of pioneers organizations, county committees of women, people's councils, county committees for socialist culture and education, county school inspectorates, county tourist offices, county councils for physical education and sports, county unions of agricultural production cooperatives, county unions of artisan cooperatives, county unions of consumer cooperatives and of other local organizations and institutions concerned.

The representatives of the county councils of trade unions are the chairmen of the commissions and the representatives of the county committees of the Union of Communist Youth are the vice chairmen.

The members of the commissions are designated by the executive bodies of the organizations and institutions named in Paragraph 1.

Article 8. The commissions for mass tourism in socialist units are comprised of 5-11 members, representatives of trade union committees, committees of the Union of Communist Youth organizations, commissions of women, councils of working people, sports associations and other working people.

The representatives of trade union committees are the chairmen of the commissions and the representatives of the Union of Communist Youth organizations are the vice chairmen.

The members of the commissions are designated by the trade union committees in conjunction with the committees of the Union of Communist Youth organizations, and the councils of working people.

Article 9. The trade union organizations, the Union of Communist Youth Organizations, and the students and pioneers organizations must support all the activity of the commissions for mass tourism in socialist units, organize, in conjunction with the county committees for socialist culture and education and the county councils for physical education and sports, cultural-artistic and sports events in recreational areas, provide all tourist programs with profusely instructive-educational contents, and concern themselves with the continuous development of tourist facilities by organizing patriotic work projects.

Article 10. The county committees for socialist culture and education and the county councils for physical education and sports must ensure the participation of artistic groups and sports teams in the cultural-educational and sports events in recreational areas.

Article 11. The executive committees or bureaus of people's councils and the management bodies of the socialist units which are holders or administrators of parks, lakes, swimming pools, aquatic facilities and other recreational amenities located in pretown areas must adequately develop, equip, and maintain them.

Article 12. The county tourist offices, the county tourist agencies for youth, the trade unions and the sports associations shall provide the participants with their own transportation facilities for the organization of mass tourist programs.

At the request of tourist commissions, the units of the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications shall provide the organizers of mass tourism with supplemental railroad cars and when needed shall form special trains for tourism, buses, and other transportation facilities.

Reduced transportation rates in accordance with the laws in force shall operate for mass tourist programs.

Article 13. The Ministry of Domestic Trade, the Ministry of Tourism and the Central Union of Consumer Cooperatives shall organize, through subordinate units, in recreational areas and tourist zones, trade centers with foodstuffs, refreshments, and sporting goods, and also centers for renting sporting and tourist equipment.

Article 14. Within 30 days after the publication of this decree the Central Commission for Mass Tourism shall determine the recreational and tourist zones in the proximity of major towns and worker centers where tourist programs and cultural-educational and sports events can be organized.

The central and local newspapers, the Radio-Television, the Ministry of Tourism, and the Tourist Bureau for Youth shall conduct a comprehensive activity of popularizing the recreational and tourist facilities and areas.

Article 16. The General Union of Trade Unions of Romania shall provide the organizational and material conditions for the proper development of the activity of the central commission and county commissions for tourism. In socialist units these tasks are allotted the councils of working people.

Article 17. The central commission and the county commissions for tourism shall meet on a quarterly basis and whenever needed.

The decisions of the central commission and of the county commissions are binding for the organs which have duties in organizing mass tourism.

Nicolae Ceausescu  
President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 27 April 1978.  
No 149.

11710  
CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

RESOLUTION ON REDISTRIBUTION OF UNUSED MACHINE TOOLS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 36, 3 May 78 p 5

/Resolution of the Council of Ministers on the Redistribution of Unused Machine Tools/

/Text/ For the purpose of promptly redistributing unused machine tools and returning them to the production flow,

The Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Romania hereby resolves:

Article 1. The leading bodies of ministries, of the other state central and local organs, of industrial centrals, and of the subordinate enterprises and other economic units shall be responsible for the utilization, under the production plans, of the basic machine tools of the existing stock in operation, as a rule under working conditions of three shifts or at least at the level of the planned utilization index.

The leading bodies named in Paragraph 1 are prohibited from requesting the provision of new machine tools to economic units without ensuring the utilization of these machine tools, together with those in the existing stock, at least at the level of the planned utilization index.

Article 2. In the event that because of the modified production streamline or upgraded processes resulting from the reorganization and modernization of production or other causes some machine tools can no longer be efficiently used in the holder unit, the bureaus of working people's councils in these units, after a thorough survey, may decide on releasing them for transfer.

Before release, the holder unit must make sure that the machine tools are repaired and overhauled. The decision on release shall only be taken after the territorial inspectorates of the Ministry of Technical and Material Supplies and Management of Fixed Assets have confirmed the working condition of the machine tools.

For the purpose of redistribution, the holder unit shall forward the list of released machine tools to its coordinating body.

Article 3. The leading bodies of industrial centrals, ministries, and the other state central and local organs, within 25 days after the holder units reported the release of the machine tools, must redistribute them, under the legal provisions, by transfer to subordinate units or to other units which request them, and to new investment projects.

Within the same period of time, the ministries and the other state central and local bodies shall forward to the Ministry of Technical and Material Supplies and Management of Fixed Assets and to the State Planning Committee the lists of unused machine tools for which they did not find redistribution solutions, in accordance with Paragraph 1.

Article 4. The Ministry of Technical and Material Supplies and Management of Fixed Assets and the State Planning Committee, within 20 days after submission of the list of unused machine tools shall ensure meeting, in accordance with the law, the requests for equipment provision of ministries and the other state central and local organs, predominantly from the machine tools contained in these lists, whose technical-functional features are similar to those of the requested machine tools.

On the basis of the decisions for redistribution issued in accordance with Paragraph 1, the ministry or the state central or local organ which coordinates the holder unit shall transfer, in accordance with the law, the machine tools to the new user, who must ensure the transportation, assembly, and operation of these machine tools.

Article 5. If within 45 days after the reporting of the release of the machine tools, in accordance with Paragraph 3 of Article 2, the organs named in articles 3 and 4 were not able to find redistribution solutions, because of lack of requests, the minister or the leader of the central or local body which coordinates the holder unit may rule that these machine tools be transferred for conservation on the basis of the report received from the Ministry of Material and Technical Supplies and Management of Fixed Assets. From the date of transfer to conservation, the machine tools shall no longer be taken into consideration in reporting the index of utilization of the available time span; for these machine tools the amortization in accordance with the legal provisions shall be further paid.

Article 6. The Ministry of Technical and Material Supplies and Management of Fixed Assets, the State Planning Committee, the ministries, the other state central and local organs, the industrial centrals,

and the units that are holders of machine tools transferred to conservation, in accordance with Article 5, shall monitor the priority return of these machine tools to the production flow.

The Council of Ministers  
Of the Socialist Republic of Romania  
Prime Minister  
Manea Manescu

Bucharest, 25 April 1978.  
No 75.

11710  
CSO: 2700

YUGOSLAVIA

BIOGRAPHY OF JOSIP VRHOVEC

Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 27 May 78 p 21

[Article by Anton Rupnik]



Josip Vrhovec

[Text] The lightning speed with which the change of assignments in the Federal Secretariat of Foreign Affairs took place last week speaks by itself how intensive is this country's involvement in international affairs and how demanding is the position of the foreign secretary. On Tuesday immediately following the administering of the oath of office in the Assembly of the SFRY Milos Minic and Josip Vrhovec, the former and the new federal secretaries, met with their closest associates to thank the departing secretary for his 5 years of service and give a last minute briefing to the new man on his great mission: the following morning he flew to Havana to attend the meeting of the bureau of nonaligned countries from where he was to move to New York to attend the UN special session on disarmament. And what questions could be more serious and demanding for the new diplomatic chief than these?

Although in our constitutional order the "foreign office" is something quite different from what this term denotes in the bourgeois democracies and not merely a "service" of the party leadership as is often the case in the Eastern socialist countries--in Yugoslavia a whole series of factors in addition to the republics and regions is involved in the socialized foreign policy and international affairs activities--the Yugoslav federal secretary for foreign affairs commands a great deal of respect as a representative of Tito's non-aligned and socialist self-managing Yugoslavia and the change in the venerable old palace on Kneza Milosa street in Belgrade attracts the interest of the entire world. Who, then, is the new man in charge of the federal department that with over 2,500 employees and almost 150 diplomatic and consular representatives carries out assignments of extraordinary importance in representing our interests throughout the world?

Vrhovec was dubbed with the title of "party ideologist" by foreign reporters but they would not deny his expertise in foreign affairs. These two areas of sociopolitical work were indeed his principal fields of endeavor.

He was born on 9 February 1926 to a worker's family in Zagreb. In 1941 he enrolled in the intermediate school of engineering where he became member and later functionary of the League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia until he joined the partisans in 1943.

In the War of National Liberation he earned several partisan decorations. In 1945 he was admitted to membership in the party. Immediately after the liberation he was separated from the armed forces so that he could continue his education. He was party secretary at the faculty of economics. After graduation he continued his studies at the Social Science Institute of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in Belgrade.

In 1952 he began his career as a journalist with the Zagreb VJESNIK which led him first to the position of the chief editor of VUS. Subsequent to that he served as correspondent in London and New York where he also covered the United Nations between 1964 and 1966. Readers of DELO from that period



will remember him as our special correspondent particularly for his penetrating analyses on "nuclear security," that is, after the signing of the nuclear nonproliferation agreement. Upon his return from abroad he frequently accompanied President Tito on his travels to Africa, Asia, and America. In November 1968 he became chief editor of VJESNIK.

However, this extremely active sociopolitical worker did not remain long at his post because of his election in January 1970 as member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia. In this position he became acquainted with all the dangers of the course of nationalist euphoria assumed by Croatia. After the denouement and dismissal of the blundering leadership of the League of Communists of Croatia Josip Vrhovec became secretary of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the LC in December 1971.

Although he was not at all unknown prior to that time (he is still not listed in the most recent "Who's Who in Yugoslavia" [Kdo je Kdo v Jugoslaviji] published in 1970) Josip Vrhovec became known as an extremely principled fighter for brotherhood and unity of the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia in the period following the "Croatian euphoria." All his numerous political actions following these events were imbued with two fundamental ideas: Brotherhood and unity must be guarded as the apple of one's eye and "although we have defeated our political opponents we must not think that we can now sleep without concern." In other words, Vrhovec dedicated all his being to the political ideological work toward reconstruction of the badly damaged Croatian LC.

These were years when nationalist phenomena were consistently exposed and Vrhovec, a leading functionary of the LCC, never became devoid of self-criticism. On the contrary, all his speeches are intertwined with criticism of his own weaknesses within LC. "Criticism of our own weaknesses, readiness to publicly expose these weaknesses, determination to fight the forces attacking our socialism--are proof of the strength of our socialism and all of us who are building it," he said in 1972. Three years later--as a member of the LCY Central Committee--in viewing the historical dimensions of our society's development, he said: "Regardless of the extent to which bourgeois ideology and traditionalism linger in our midst as unvanquished and surviving remnants of the convictions of the past, it is a fact that the thinking which tends to statist centralist socialism is still present. This part of backward social thinking and ideological conceptualization can in certain situations grow deeper roots in our midst. That which appears as antisocialist and anti-self-managing will not vanish by itself." In brief: Vrhovec proves time and again the need for incessant ideopolitical action of social forces deliberately bent on bringing about changes in thinking. This applies to internal affairs as well as to foreign relations.

Whenever the opportunity presented itself Vrhovec related nonalignment as an essential element of our foreign policy with the Yugoslav domestic reality. "Nonalignment is not only an expression of society's existence but also a cohesive force of our internal life."

He was very lucid in declaring the foreign affairs credo of Tito's policy when at a time of tension created by the border dispute with Italy in 1974 he declared in Rijeka: "Yugoslavia has no special policy for special regions and special world events. The policy of nonalignment permeates our basic positions, evaluations, and actions in relations with the neighboring countries, in cooperation with the socialist countries as well as in joint action with nonaligned countries and in relation to the big powers and all other countries."

Although his last assignment in the presidency of the LCY Central Committee as president of the commission on ideological and theoretical work within the LCY and ideological questions in the field of education, science, and culture Vrhovec often represented the LCY at foreign communist and workers parties. He was particularly interested in following the events in the international workers movement.

By chance he happened to take over his new duties at a time when the international situation is very dynamic and when the nonaligned countries and the world organization are again confronted with the key problems of today's world, such as disarmament, threats to peace in various places and conflicts between the nonaligned countries themselves. The voice of Tito's "foreign minister" commands such interest these days because on many critical occasions in the past the Yugoslav president knew how to speak out so that his words were given attention by all concerned.

The former correspondent and commentator from the New York East River can feel quite at home these days since the years he spent as a journalist enabled him to become thoroughly acquainted both with the scenery as well as the principal language--English--of this palace. He will now be able to repeat with the full formal weight of his office what he wrote 12 years ago as commentator, namely, that "it is not difficult to recognize that the relaxation of tensions may not be spent or frozen within the bounds of nuclear equilibrium established on the ability of nuclear powers to mutually annihilate each other...."

12070

CSO: 2800

## YUGOSLAVIA

### BAKARIC ASSESSES DOMESTIC, INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS

Bonn DIE WELT in German 20 Jun 78 p 8 DW

[Interview with Vladimir Bakaric, member of the Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and chairman of the Committee for the Protection of Constitutional Order, by correspondent Carl Gustaf Stroehm in Zagreb]

[Text] WELT: Dr Bakaric, how do you see the present problem of terrorism? The four German terrorists, Monhaupt, Wagner, Boock and Hoffmann, who were arrested by your police here in Yugoslavia, are being discussed very much in our country. Simultaneously the Croatian extremists are being discussed very much. Do you think there exists a connection between these two kinds of terrorism, and what are the reasons for it?

Bakaric: The beginning of modern terrorism in Yugoslavia took place before the war when the Ustasha people were emigrating and setting up their organizations, particularly in Fascist Italy. In doing this they were encouraged and supported by other outward forces. They had their camps in Italy and Hungary, and later on they were encouraged by the German Nazi government.

This terrorism did not have much success in the country. When the emigres had left the country, terrorism disappeared temporarily. Lately, however, Ustasha terrorism is appearing again in an intensified way. The old Ustasha groups were the first centers which were taken care of by certain new foreign forces: Either by certain secret services or certain reactionary elements of other countries.

The center was located for a long time in Europe, in the Federal Republic of Germany, where the Ustasha was supported by certain elements. In the course of past years the German Government has taken a number of measures to cut that off. Thereupon they moved on to Sweden. Today the greatest Ustasha camp probably exists in Australia. But naturally the center that is giving them most of the money is located in America.

German terrorism is something new to us. We had a look at the social structure of the people who are termed terrorists. We have seen that this is a circle of dissatisfied people of whom you hardly can say that they are

leftist-orientated in a classic sense. It seems that they are swearing to Marxism, but that has nothing to do with classic Marxism. It is a rather firm and ideological compact--I would not say movement, that would be too meaningful a word--but organization.

We have found that there are connections with a number of organizations dealing with terrorism--some of them are in Latin America, others in the Arab world. We have learned that some of this terrorism has passed through Yugoslavia in transit. We have not noticed anything, though. In regard to the last case that is being discussed very much now, there was a warning coming from Germany that some of these people are here. As you know, the arrests were taking place as a result.

The German Government initiated an extradition appeal. Procedures are under way. I do not know what state it has reached now and I cannot predict an outcome. At any rate, we decided that Yugoslavia will and can be no territory where this terrorism will develop, regardless in what form, and where it can communicate.

As regards our Ustasha terrorism, German authorities have arrested some of these people. Law suits were taking place in Germany. We demanded extradition of some of these people. Procedures are under way, but I cannot tell you where and how. Problems in this case are not directly connected. A connection exists though in the form of an agreement between the German Government and us, saying that they as well as we will fight terrorism continuously, regardless of where it may appear--whether on our territory or on German territory.

There are accusations that German terrorism is linked particularly with the Arab world; terrorism also is being mentioned in connection with the world's division into power blocs. As I said: We want to clarify that matter--at least as far as Yugoslavia is concerned, so that all of this will be removed from Yugoslavia.

WELT: You are one of the top men of Yugoslavia. Are you content with the present international situation and particularly with the development of East-West relations?

Bakaric: As for the international situation, one cannot be content with it. Many elements indicate deterioration. They are not particularly promising of a beautiful future. There is a certain aggravation or at least stagnation of East-West relations. There exists the tendency of including new geographic areas in the rivalry of the blocs--that is presently the case in Africa.

On the other hand, however, there are some positive elements too: One notes more intensity on the part of nonaligned and other nations who are asking now where all this is supposed to get you. The initiative of President Tito must be mentioned particularly in connection with the Colombo conference of

the nonaligned with a view to calling a UN conference on disarmament problems. Of course you cannot say that this conference will produce a full success, but we will insist that more agreement will be achieved simultaneously on the elimination of armament in the world. The problem of mutual confidence naturally is a basic matter. If there is no confidence, or at least some elements of confidence, it would not make sense to discuss disarmament.

WELT: Yugoslavia was, not just geographically but also because of its large Moslem population something like a bridge between Europe, the Mideast, and northern Africa. How do you assess the present situation in the Mideast and in Africa?

Bakaric: We consider the Mideast situation very alarming. I do not think it is the group of our Yugoslav Moslems that prompts us to make this assessment. This is more a matter of world peace. Our Moslems support the policy of Yugoslavia. In our country, however, we have a rather big Jewish group too, with which we have no problems either.

The Mideast situation has been internationalized by the fact that the power blocs have been involved--entailing the question: Which bloc will be more powerful? So the conflict in the military field will remain unsolved. None of the two sides could admit its arms to be defeated in this area. Now we have entered another situation: Soviet arms have been ruled out, so to speak.

Now America must solve this very difficult problem, but so far it has hardly achieved anything. The United States supported Israel, which has been aggressive and has established a system that cannot be maintained in the long run, and that must produce new conflicts. Even such a power as the United States obviously is in no position to keep Israel within reasonable limits. So the perspective here is very bad. In addition, the unity of the Arabs has been greatly destroyed, so that the elements supporting a peaceful solution on that side also have been weakened.

The African situation is similar. As you know, we supported the revolution in Ethiopia. We considered it an internal problem of Ethiopia--with some reservation, though, regarding Ethiopian policy in Eritrea. We suggested that Ethiopians form a federation with Eritrea, similar to ours. It turned out, though, that our suggestion scored a very minor success if any.

We did not know that Cuban troops would be used there. Even when President Tito was in America he did not know it, although the Cubans were there already. That was considered an invasion of Africa. I would like to add here that we were not prepared to dispatch one single soldier to that area, regardless of how much we supported the revolution there. I would like to stress that so far neither the Cubans nor the Ethiopians have made an offensive. They have only fought the Somalian offensive.

It is said now that the whole thing was an indoctrination of Marxism or of leftist forces. But as you know, the Somalians, too, have been quoting Marxism. As in the Middle Ages when all were Catholics and still fighting each other, we have a situation where all involved are Marxists and still fighting each other. We consider that situation alarming, even more so because it has changed into rivalry of the power blocs or is about to change that way.

As a counterpoint we have Zaire now: A return of NATO to Africa--more or less through the back door. In such a way Africa is becoming a field for the rivalries of the big powers instead of becoming an area of developed relations between the African people. Our Yugoslav policy will aim at eliminating the possibility of such rivalry between the power blocs, and at seeking ways for the free development of inner African problems.

We are concerned about the fact that such clashes must not be fought according to strategic or other points of view of powers that are outside of Africa.

WELT: How do you assess the situation of the international communist movement with a view to Eurocommunism?

Bakaric: Tito said several times that he does not like the term "Eurocommunism." We have relatively positively assessed the apparent independence of West European communist parties. Tito did not like the term "Eurocommunism" because communism is something homogeneous you cannot divide. Today we have a situation where you must implement peace--peace in a system of détente in Europe, a system that can solve the underdevelopment problem. This is a task involving not just the workers' organizations but the entire progressive world.

Of course you can interpret the entire matter as follows--I am saying it hypothetically: You can either see a victory of Moscow in all this, or you can advance together with Moscow toward securing peace. If you advance toward securing peace though, all forces of every individual communist party must be mobilized for preserving peace. You cannot dissolve the blocs overnight. That would not be realistic. Every one of the blocs must pursue a policy aimed at overcoming the partition of the world and at cooperation and a decrease of tensions.

Once you look at things that way, you will see that every one of these communist parties has its national program that is not and cannot be depending on Moscow. Once you became dependent on Moscow, the problem would come up immediately of giving priority to one of the blocs. If you give priority to one of the blocs, you cannot overcome the bloc policy. We are, therefore, of the opinion that the existence of these independent (communist) parties is a demand of our time.

WELT: A process of differentiation has been noted lately among nonaligned states such as Yugoslavia. The next conference of the nonaligned will take place next year in Havana--the capital of the country whose troops have carried out the military intervention in Africa. Can such a policy not lead to a division of the nonaligned--and what does Yugoslavia plan to do in view of this development?

Bakaric: You mentioned the Cubans and others here. I would say that an attempt is made from without to enforce a division of the nonaligned--a division between the so-called "progressives" and the so-called "pro-Westerns." Both big powers are trying to implement that in a certain way. We consider it normal that such attempts are made, as well as the fact that they are more or less successful in regard to one point or the other. But we insist on what the nonaligned have in common: The fight for independence, coexistence, and cooperation.

You mentioned Havana. We are making certain preparations for this conference. You mentioned it yourself that the Cubans want to belong to the so-called progressive part. They have their own conceptions there. We will accept all these conceptions as long as they fit into the general picture, but we will not accept them if this were not the case. We do not want to permit a division of the nonaligned.

As far as I know Cuba has implemented two interventions: one in Angola and one in Ethiopia. But it never acted to the disadvantage of third states. I do not want to justify the intervention that way. But it must be said that they did not go beyond Angola and not to Somalia. We had many discussions lately with Cuba--and I think we have found a line that will hinder a division of the nonaligned and take into consideration our basic line. Thereafter there was the NATO conference in Paris, of which I fear represents another attempt of splitting the nonaligned.

WELT: How do you assess Yugoslavia's relations with its neighbors?

Bakaric: Our relations with the neighbor states are a bit differentiated. As a model I will mention--although it will come as a surprise to some people--that we have the best relations with Italy where the political system is most different from ours. The greatest freedom of communication exists at the Yugoslav-Italian border.

Relations with other countries also are very good. I want to mention Hungary and Romania where we have no problems either. Our relations with Austria are a bit overshadowed by the problem of the Slovenians and Croats and their status as national minorities. But some progress was achieved here, too, and occasionally more understanding and a certain detente can be observed.

As regards the Albanians, they are attacking us more or less verbally. But we do not react. Basically we are of the opinion that the Albanian situation

in this field is--I would not say precarious, that might be too grave an expression. But they are rather isolated and the stabilization process in the world has saved them of all kinds of difficulties. I think it would not be good if we were to make more difficulties for the Albanians than necessary.

In regard to Bulgaria, the Macedonian problem is involved. Bulgaria maintains basically that the Macedonian nation does not exist. But if there exists no Macedonian nation, our Socialist Republic of Macedonia allegedly would be Bulgaria. This poses the question whether this is a preparation for claiming an area or not. Our relations with Greece are very friendly.

WELT: Some people abroad fear and others hope that serious convulsions might take place in Yugoslavia in the time after Tito. Do you share such fears?

Bakaric: No, Tito is a great personality--in regard to world politics as well as our domestic policy. Some people, not you, therefore believe that everything he has built up will collapse after him. But--he would not have been a great personality if that happened.

It will be difficult for us though. None of us can replace Tito's authority in the international field as well as in regard to collective leadership. I believe that we will preserve what Tito has established in laying the groundwork. As regards domestic policy, it will be more difficult without him. But after all he will leave behind the League of Communists as well as social relations that do not depend on his personality. Tito established the groundwork of autonomy which nobody can eliminate any more. You could inflict some temporary blows on it, but you cannot eliminate it any more.

A danger would exist only if the big powers agreed to attack us jointly. But that is naturally more of a joke than a real possibility.

WELT: You said in one of your recent interviews that the Yugoslav communists, in the coming 100 years will be confronted over and over again with the national problem and national conflicts in Yugoslavia. How do you assess the nationality problem in your country? How do you think this problem should be solved?

Bakaric: I think you may have assessed that interview too sharply. Yugoslavia is a country consisting of many nations with great historic differences. A Slovenian and a Serb are not similar in many ways. But they have one thing in common: They realize that without cooperation and political unity they would have no independence, at least not in this historic phase.

The Croatian separatist movement was mentioned very often. If you consider that a political movement, it is practically nonexistent in the country. The bearers of this movement--the Estasha elements--mostly have emigrated. That was a small group, too, consisting of individual terrorists, leftovers



of the olden days. You cannot organize a serious separatist movement in our country.

This does not mean though that various national tensions must be ruled out. We had the 1971 events in our country, created by slow changes of the political structure of this country. It cannot be ruled out that such things will reoccur but at present there are no such problems. If something like that should happen again, intervention would become necessary.

You certainly have not read Engels on the national problem--Why should you? I mean the part where he speaks of the national problem in Europe, saying how ridiculous the idea is that the Welsh could revolt in England, the Bretons in France, or the Catalans in Spain. But these were the ones to revolt 100 years after Engels. So Engels' prediction was not in order. He thought that the development of these ethnic groups would destroy these countries--but as you see it did not happen. The English language, however, advanced as far as to the Africans and the Polynesians. I, too, had to learn it later on because I did not learn it at school. We accepted the English language voluntarily as a means of mutual communication.

Something similar is developing in our country to facilitate communications. And yet we have been preserving our individual subject: We preserve here the Croats, the Slovenes, our Italians and Albanians, and we do not permit them to be consumed. Since the worker is disposing of what he has created, without having the possibility of exploiting somebody else, the element of exploitation is disappearing more and more together with the predominance of one nation.

WELT: The League of Communists of Yugoslavia lately intensified its contacts with Western socialist parties. How far can such cooperation go according to your opinion, without serious ideological or political concession being made on one side or the other? As regards Germany does not the danger exist that the Yugoslav side will establish relations only with one-half of the German political world, leaving the Bonn opposition aside?

Bakaric: We would like to have as close contacts as possible with all progressive forces of the world. You mentioned the socialists. We do not plan to cooperate with them in the fields of clarifying ideological problems, but in the field of handling basic social and political problems.

We joined the German Social Democrats in the Ostpolitik phase when Ostpolitik was merely a matter of the Social Democrats, when it was not accepted by the opposition and by other German elements. But when I was in Bonn now, I also visited this other side. We have no reason at all to abstain from cooperating with it. I think we are cooperating here with Germany as a whole and not with the social democracy. In regard to some problems the Social Democrats are closer to us than others, but in regard to basic problems--detente and stabilization in Europe--I think there is no reason why we should not cooperate with all political forces in Germany. I think that at the moment Germany is closest to us in this respect.

WELT: What does Marxism mean according to your opinion in the present world--at a time when the Red Brigades and terrorists as well as socialists and communists of all shades are quoting Marx? Can Marxism still be maintained as a uniform coherent system?

Bakaric: Marxism is no coherent system. If it were a coherent system, even Marx said that under such circumstances he would be no Marxist. So I would say today: If you consider Marxism a coherent system, I am no Marxist either. Marxism is a method of analyzing events. With this method you can analyze matters in a good or in a bad way, and you can arrive at respectively different results. It always depends on who is doing it and whose interests are represented by him.

I told you that people have been swearing on the Bible in earlier days, too, and that they still were fighting among each other. All of them were Christians and Catholics--some of them said "May God punish England," and the others, too, had God on their banners. Today everybody can term himself a communist or a socialist. It is not important what he thinks of himself but what he really is in the society. People are swearing today on Marx and Lenin who have not even seen a book about the two. We are not worried by that. I think that Marxism is a most vital matter that is being more and more used--but also misused.

CSO: 2300

YUGOSLAVIA

ACTIVITIES OF SLOVENIAN OFFICIALS REPORTED

Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 17 Jun 78 p 2

Bojan Lubej at First Commission Meeting

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 16 June--At its first meeting, which was headed by Commission Chairman Bojan Lubej, the Commission for International Relations of the Slovenian Assembly reported on the implementation of the resolution of the Slovenian Assembly concerning economic relations between Slovenia and developing countries. The commission report was presented to the Slovenian Executive Council, according to information from the council's Secretariat for Information.

Vratusa Receives Credit Fund Officials

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 16 June--Today, Anton Vratusa, President of the Slovenian Executive Council, received the officials of the Fund for Credit-ing the Accelerated Development of Economically Underdeveloped Republics and Atunonomous Provinces: Director Zeki Bejtulah; Branislav Penezic, fund board chairman; and Aleksandar Danev, Chairman of the executive committee.

Vida Tomsic: Law Faculty Professor

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 16 June--Recently, the Board of the Law Faculty of Ljubljana University invited Vida Tomsic, a member of the Slovenian Presidency and of the Council of the Federation to be a full professor of the Law Faculty pursuant to Paragraph 71 of the Law on Higher Education of Slovenia. Tomsic has assumed teaching and advisory work in the field of family relations.

Setinc Heads Political Propaganda Meeting

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 16 June--A meeting of the Commission for Political Propaganda of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Slovenia was held today. Commission Chairman Franc Setinc headed the meeting which discussed directions and tasks for 1978.

YUGOSLAVIA

INITIAL PROTOCOL VISIT OF GABONESE AMBASSADOR IN SLOVENIA

Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 15 Jun 78 p 2

[Text] Ljubljana, 14 June--Jean-Robert Fanguinoveny, Ambassador from Gabon to the SFRY, was in Ljubljana on an initial protocol visit. First the Gabonese ambassador was received by Sergej Kraigher, President of the Slovenina Presidency, and held talks with him briefly. Then he was received by Milan Kucan, President of the Slovenian Assembly; Anton Vratusa, President of the Slovenian Executive Council; Rudi Babic, Vice-President of the Economic Chamber of Slovenia; and Niko Lukez, Vice-President of the Ljubljana Municipal Assembly. In addition, Ambassador Fanguinoveny visited the International Center for the Management of Enterprises Under Social Ownership in Developing Countries, Slovenijales, and the Ljubljana Bank.

CSO: 2800

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